



THE
PRACTICE,
PROBLEMS
AND
PROSPECTS
OF
SOCIALISM

Socialism as a Social System



PROGRESS
PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW



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Socialism as a Social System was written by an international team of scholars from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland and the Soviet Union. Drawing on a wealth of factual material, it highlights the achievements scored by the socialist community countries. The authors discuss the main principles and goals of socialism. Much attention is devoted to the development of democracy, the training of man of the new type and the socialist way of life.



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Translated from the Russian by *Lenina Ilitskaya*

Editors-in Chief:
Prof. T. M. Jaroszewski (PPR)
Prof. P. A. Ignatovsky (USSR)

СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКИЙ СТРОЙ
КАК ОБЩЕСТВЕННАЯ СИСТЕМА

На английском языке

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A WORD FROM THE EDITORIAL BOARD

The collective monograph *Socialism as a Social System* is the product of multilateral cooperation among the fraternal communist and workers' parties of socialist community countries. It was prepared with the participation of research teams representing the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Polish United Workers' Party, and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Work on the monograph as a whole was coordinated by the Institute of Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party. Separate chapters were prepared by the following research teams:

Introduction (USSR)

I. The Essence and Principles of Socialism (CSSR).

II. The Economic Development of the Socialist Community Countries (USSR).

III. The Socio-Class Structure of Socialist Society (PRB).

IV. The Political System of Socialism and the Development of Democracy (HPR).

V. Socialist Humanism. Moulding the New Man (PPR).

VI. Characteristics of the Socialist Mode of Life (GDR).

VII. The Historical Role of the Socialist Community (USSR).

Conclusion (USSR).

This had yet to be brought home to men who needed to be made to see that they must fight to win and build a new society. And the Marxists-Leninists did it. The Marxist-Leninist parties in the countries which today form the world of socialism, the fraternal socialist community, managed to rally their peoples for the effort to realise the ideals of socialism and communism, which Lenin expressed as follows: 'We shall work to inculcate in people's minds, turn into a habit, and bring into the day-by-day life of the masses, the rule: "All for each and each for all"; the rule: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs"; we shall work for the gradual but steady introduction of communist discipline and communist labour.'¹

To make these ideals come true, to attain such lofty goals, it will yet take time and a good deal of effort for man to change himself. But the chief pledge of the realisation of the great communist ideals is that there has been formed even now a man free from the chains of exploitation, man the creator, master of his own destiny. This man is the embodiment of the highest achievements of socialism and its main asset.

henceforth all quotes from Marx's and Engels's works refer to English translations brought out by Progress Publishers, Moscow, unless otherwise indicated.

¹ V. I. Lenin, 'From the First Subbotnik on the Moscow-Kazan Railway to the All-Russia May Day Subbotnik', *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, 1977, p. 124. All quotes from Lenin's works refer to the English translations put out by Progress Publishers, Moscow.

He is socialism's principal gain, to which it owes its greatness, stability, and promise.

The victorious Great October Socialist Revolution—the pivotal event of the twentieth century, which radically changed the course of development of mankind—gave profound and comprehensive expression to the great worldwide liberating mission of the working class.

The heroic struggle of the workers and peasants of Russia, wholeheartedly and effectively supported by working people across the world, showed, in Lenin's words, 'to all countries something—and something highly significant—of their near and inevitable future'.² The Great October Socialist Revolution ushered in a new epoch—the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism.

The world socialist system created as a result of the victorious Great October Socialist Revolution, is the greatest achievement of the working class.

The victorious October Revolution imparted powerful revolutionary impulses to all contingents of the international working-class movement, opening fresh opportunities and prospects for the development of the national liberation struggles, which resulted in the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism.

The most important of the international consequences of the October Revolution, which have shaped

² V. I. Lenin, '“Left-Wing” Communism—an Infantile Disorder', *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, Moscow, 1966, p. 22.

the face of our epoch, has been the emergence and development of the world socialist system,' noted Leonid Brezhnev in his speech on the sixtieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.¹

The October Revolution is a socio-political event, the greatness of which is disclosed ever more deeply and graphically with each new step made by mankind along the road of social progress. The world-historic significance of its victory and of the rich experience of real socialism consists in the fact that they have provided an example of the most just organisation of society in the interest of the working people, as well as of a new type of international union, the ever more close-knit community of the fraternal peoples of the socialist countries.

In recent years, the socialist countries' fraternal parties, developing the Marxist-Leninist theory of building a socialist society, have enriched the treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism with new conclusions and propositions, which open further prospects for socialist development.

The conception of the developed socialist society, elaborated by the combined efforts of the CPSU and fraternal communist and workers' parties, is a great creative contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory.

Following the theory and practice of real socialism, the fraternal communist and workers' parties identify and consistently implement a realistic course

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *The Great October Revolution and Mankind's Progress*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1977, p. 18.

aimed at attaining both immediate and fundamental long-range goals, the supreme of which is the steady rise in the living standards and cultural level of the peoples in their countries.

Enriching the real experience of socialism, the socialist countries, united by the community of their state systems, their commitment to the cause of peace, socialism, democracy, and national independence, are voluntarily developing all-round cooperation with each other on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, international solidarity, respect for the equality and sovereignty of each country, non-interference in internal affairs, and friendly mutual assistance.

Together, these principles express the essence of an international alliance of a new type, the world socialist community.

Communists proceed from the general objective laws of the development of socialism, which are reflected in Marxist-Leninist theory and are borne out by practice. These laws are set out in the documents of the fraternal parties' international meetings, and are carried out with due regard for the concrete conditions prevailing in each country. This dialectical interrelation of the general and the particular provides for a fuller realisation of the advantages offered by socialism. For just as the historical processes of socialist development have general laws and particular concrete conditions governing their realisation, so are the advantages of socialism manifested in the general, realised with due regard for the particular. This book examines the general

advantages of the socialist system, which are manifested to some extent or another in different countries pursuing socialist and communist construction.

The experience of socialist development shows that its singleness of historical purpose objectively stems from the identity of interests of socialist society. This objectivity, however, is manifested only insofar as the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party are aware of the objective requirements of social development. But knowledge of these requirements, of objective laws, does not automatically provide, for instance, for the growth of production, serving merely as a guide to determining economic strategy and tactics, to identifying the central problem and the means of dealing with the tasks of a concrete period. In this is manifested the role of the subjective factor, the role of the policy of the Marxist-Leninist parties, of their organisational and ideological work among the working people. The connection between the objective laws of socialism and the advantages offered by it is characterised by the fact that conscious use of these laws in the interest of society as a whole is one of the most important—and the most general—advantages of the new social system.

Singling out this, the most general, advantage of socialism, the authors have endeavoured to reduce to a system the main and most typical advantages of socialism, which have already been cognised and are being realised in social practice, both in the economic and the socio-political, ideological, cultural and intellectual fields.

The authors assign a special place to the description of the characteristics of the socialist mode of life.

In examining the essence of socialist humanism, they analyse the conditions created by society for the cultural and intellectual development of the individual, disclosing in this way the humane nature of socialism, of its social optimism, which is founded in the absolute confidence felt by every working man in his own and his children's future and security in old age.

The authors systematise the advantages of socialism with due regard for the fact that its progressive character is reflected not only in the rate at which the productive forces develop under it and in the amount of material goods made available to citizens, but also in the way in which the needs of the individual and society are met, in the character and pattern of these needs, and in the further prospects for the development of the individual. By altering the relationship between the worker and the means of production, socialism has created real opportunities for man's all-round creative growth and for the promotion of his social activity.

Lenin pointed out that with the triumph of socialism, a higher type of social organisation of labour is established. This is what is important, this is the guarantee that the final triumph of communism is inevitable.¹

¹ V. I. Lenin, 'A Great Beginning', *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, Moscow, 1977, p. 419.

Analysing the historical changes in the organisation of labour, Lenin stressed that organisation of social labour under serfdom rested on the discipline of the stick, the toilers being extremely ignorant and downtrodden. The capitalist organisation of labour was maintained through the discipline of hunger.

The communist organisation of social labour, the first step of which is socialism, is based—and will continue to be based increasingly as time passes—on the free and conscious discipline of the working people themselves. It grows out of the new material conditions, the exponent of which is the working class, the labouring masses, i.e., socialist society, and is based on the gains of socialism and the absence of such social evils, inherent in capitalism, as hunger and poverty, unemployment and illiteracy, and social and national oppression.

A new attitude to work, the gradual turning of labour into a prime vital necessity, and a transformation in the motives of man's activity are a major advantage of socialism. It is accompanied by the all-round development of workers' social and production activities and of diverse forms of public initiative in the sphere of production and other areas of the life of society, and by fuller satisfaction of men's material, cultural and intellectual needs.

The further development of real socialism and the building of a communist society in the USSR are accompanied by the strengthening and improvement of the socialist state system, and consistent extension of socialist democracy, all of which express and

safeguard the interests of the socialist nations. As it increasingly extends to the various spheres of life—economic, political, cultural and intellectual—socialist democracy provides real opportunities for the all-round flowering of the individual.

Socialist democracy embodies the unity of the rights and duties of citizens, their genuine freedom and public responsibility, and harmoniously combines the interests of society, the group, and the individual. The working people take an ever more active part in running production and society.

Socialist society is an association of working people which is developing on the basis of science and the scientific policy of the Marxist-Leninist parties, whose activities embody the interests of the working class and all working people.

The historical experience and achievements of the socialist countries convincingly demonstrate to all progressive mankind that the future belongs to socialism. The truth about socialism has an ever-increasing power of attraction for hundreds of millions of people in different corners of the earth. That is why the sum total of socialism's advantages has become the object of a tense ideological struggle. Bourgeois sociologists, diverse apologists of capitalism, and revisionists on the right and left attempt to minimise the successes achieved by the socialist community countries through the heroic efforts of their peoples, led by the Marxist-Leninist parties. Nevertheless, the world socialist system, in which the regular process of the gradual drawing together of the fraternal countries is

intensifying, the common elements of their policy, economy, and social life are multiplying, economic integration is advancing, and levels of development are gradually becoming equalised, is exerting an immense influence on world development and the world revolutionary process. The peoples fighting for their freedom and independence find support in socialism. It opposes aggressors and the imperialist arms race, and rallies the peoples in their struggle for peace, international detente, freedom, and social progress.

Consistently dealing with the vital issues of today which affect the whole of mankind, socialism shows the rest of the world a clear way in the struggle for emancipation from imperialist oppression and exploitation.

Socialism is triumphing in the struggle for the minds and hearts of ever larger numbers of working people throughout the world.

The successes achieved by socialism bear out the profound soundness of Marxism-Leninism. Over the decades of socialism's consolidation and triumph, the experience accumulated in revolutionary battles and development has brought into being new, socialist traditions. The peoples of the socialist countries are aware that 'to safeguard these traditions means to creatively develop them'.¹

Communist party congresses in the fraternal social-

¹ *On the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution*, Resolution of the CPSU Central Committee of January 31, 1977, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1977, pp. 26-27.

ist countries, held in the latter half of the 1970s, subjected to all-round analysis the experience of building socialism and showed that socialism had achieved fresh successes by realising its advantages in the economic, social, political, cultural and intellectual fields, and in the anti-imperialist struggle. The communist and workers' parties can justly be proud of what has been accomplished. But at the same time, the fraternal parties, like the CPSU, the most experienced of them, realistically appraise what has been done, expose shortcomings and overcome obstacles in the path of their forward movement by constantly striving to do so. This is the line along which the Marxist-Leninist parties concentrate their efforts and the efforts of all working people in the socialist countries.

Thus, the advantages offered by the socialist system discussed in this book are questions of the prospects for society's development, of genuine humanism, of the avenues for promoting man's reasonable material, cultural and intellectual needs, and the means of satisfying them, and of the insuperability of the main trend of this age—the revolutionary replacement of the capitalist by the communist system.

THE ESSENCE AND PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM

1. The Emergence of Socialist Society

The communist socio-economic formation and its first phase, socialism, emerge as a natural product of the development of the productive forces and the irreconcilable internal contradictions of capitalism, and as a result of the determined struggle of the revolutionary forces, whose nucleus is the working class, led by communist and workers' parties.

The founders of Marxism-Leninism proved, on the basis of a scientific conception of the process of history and analysis of capitalist society, that mankind's transition from capitalism to communism is determined by the profound and universal character of the antagonisms intensifying the exploitation and social, political, cultural and intellectual oppression of the working people, unemployment, racial and national discrimination, and the moral crisis and spiritual decay of bourgeois society. Imperialism intensifies social inequality and the uneven development of different regions, countries, and continents. Faced with the collapse of the colonial system, it breeds neocolonialism and increases the danger for mankind by the arms race, aggression, and wars. This system, which

has outlived its usefulness, increasingly misapplies the advances of science and technology for anti-humanitarian purposes, and provokes acute problems associated with the state of the environment and utilisation of natural resources.

Numerous sections of the working class, peasants, and progressive intelligentsia become convinced from their own experience that the solution of major vital problems is, in the end, connected with changes in the economic, social, political, cultural and intellectual spheres, effected on the basis of socialist principles.

No changes can be effected without conquest of power by the working class in alliance with all the working people. Revolution alone makes possible the resolving of the antagonistic contradictions inherent in capitalism. The means by which qualitative changes can be brought about is the dictatorship of the proletariat, which expresses the fundamental interests of the absolute majority of the people—the broad mass of the working people and all progressive people engaged in science and culture.

Employing the dictatorship of the proletariat, the working class together with all the working people opposes to the fierce armed, political, and ideological resistance of the reactionaries, to the disorganisation of the economy and counter-revolutionary sabotage and bourgeois terrorism, the greatest organisation and solidarity in defending the gains of the revolution and the interests of the working people emancipated from exploitation.

The historical experience of the struggle for the triumph of socialism attests that a revolution can consolidate its victory only provided that it can defend itself.

The Marxist-Leninist conception of the inevitability of the transition from capitalism to communism reveals that it is a process determined by many factors, and lays bare the chief source of social antagonisms—the capitalist mode of production. The objective inevitability of revolutionary socialist changes is predetermined by the economic laws of social development, by the economic law of the correspondence of the relations of production to the level and character of the productive forces, by the law of the uneven development of capitalism, and so on. 'The rule of capitalism is being undermined not because somebody is out to seize power,' Lenin wrote. "'Seizure" of power would be senseless. It would be impossible to put an end to the rule of capitalism if the whole course of economic development in the capitalist countries did not lead up to it... No power could destroy capitalism if it were not sapped and undermined by history.'

A high level of productive forces and the social character of production objectively require that there should be social appropriation of the product, and social ownership of the means of production. The economic mechanism of the capitalist system eventual-

¹ V. I. Lenin, 'War and Revolution', *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, Moscow, 1964, p. 417.

ly proves incapable of functioning smoothly under the weight of the productive forces created by it. Capitalism can no longer effectively use the accumulated mass of the means of production; this accounts for the existence of an unemployed industrial reserve force, although all the elements of general welfare are present in abundance and to an even greater extent than at the dawn of capitalism.

Thus, the economic development of capitalism, expressed in the increased concentration and centralisation of the means of production and instruments of labour, objectively provides the material and political conditions necessary for destroying the old capitalist relations of production. Thus, the revolutionary replacement of capitalism by socialism becomes a natural historical process in social development.

Socialist relations of production cannot emerge within the capitalist socio-economic system. Capitalism creates merely the material, and some subjective, prerequisites of the future socialist society. A working class takes shape and organises its revolutionary political vanguard, a Marxist-Leninist party, and a proletarian, Marxist-Leninist ideology develops. But first there appear the material and technical prerequisites of the new social system, namely, productive forces which already under capitalism are essentially social ones. Even so, it would be wrong to suppose that the working class in a developed capitalist country inherits, after its conquest of power, a material and technical foundation which it can use, without any restructuring, as the material and tech-

nical base of socialism. The political rule of the working class is called upon to abolish private ownership of the means of production so as to emancipate labour, give free scope to the initiative and creativity of the broad mass of the working people, organise production in accordance with a single national economic plan, get the management of the economy and all social processes smoothly running, and ensure efficient use of the advances of science and technology. Only given all these conditions can a material and technical foundations matching the new social system be built, in order to satisfy, as fully as possible at the existing level of the productive forces, the material and spiritual requirements of all working people. This means consideration of the interests of the working people, on the one hand, as consumers—by steadily raising their living standards—and, on the other, as producers—by developing socialist forms of the organisation of labour, by intellectualising and humanising it, and by improving diverse forms of participation in the management and rationalisation of production.

The working class, in alliance with the working peasants and other sections of the people, and under the guidance of the Marxist-Leninist party, reorganises the material productive forces created under capitalism into the material and technical foundations of socialism, building them on new principles as the material basis of socialist social relations.

With this purpose in mind, the working class and all working people must, after taking political power

into their own hands, build a complex network of socialist socio-economic relationships, form and train organisers of socialist production, develop the socialist cooperation of labour, introduce socialist methods of production and distribution, and learn to apply economic laws in establishing socialist relations of production, which do not originate under capitalist production. All these measures are carried out in the course of an acute class struggle against the bourgeoisie and its lackeys, who are out to obstruct and sabotage them.

The higher the technological level of capitalist production in a country, the higher its degree of socialisation, which is manifested in concentration and specialisation, and the more perfect the material prerequisites of socialism created by capitalism, the more efficiently must the working class provide for the socialist reorganisation of industry, transport, agriculture, and trade, and the greater is the responsibility of the Marxist-Leninist party, the working class and all contingents of the working people, of all forces remaking the political system so as to ensure effective utilisation of the available material prerequisites of socialism for further social progress and the comprehensive realisation of the advantages afforded by socialist methods of production and by social life as a whole.

'Anarchy in social production is replaced by systematic, definite organisation. . . . The whole sphere of the conditions of life which environ man, and which have hitherto ruled man, now comes under the

dominion and control of man, who for the first time becomes the real, conscious lord of nature, because he has now become master of his own social organisation."

Contemporary apologists of capitalism, who preach that it can be improved through partial reforms, e.g., the advocates of different 'industrial' and 'post-industrial' conceptions of society, lay stress on changing its material and technical foundations and reject revolutionary changes aimed at abolishing private ownership. Their arguments are borrowed by reformists, right-wing revisionists, and 'leftists' of every stripe. We know very well that the leaders of the Second International, in their day, also denied the need for revolutionary change in the socio-economic foundations of society, calling into question the revolutionary capabilities of the toiling masses embarking on the road of socialist development.

Lenin wrote of them: 'Those who try to solve the problems involved in the transition from capitalism to socialism on the basis of general talk about liberty, equality, democracy in general, equality of labour democracy, etc. (as Kautsky, Martov and other heroes of the Berne yellow International do), thereby only reveal their petty-bourgeois, philistine nature and ideologically slavishly follow in the wake of the bourgeoisie. The correct solution of this problem can be found only in a concrete study of the specific rela-

¹ Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p. 343.

tions between the specific class which has conquered political power, namely, the proletariat, and the whole non-proletarian, and also semi-proletarian, mass of the working population—relations which do not take shape in fantastically harmonious, "ideal" conditions, but in the real conditions of the frantic resistance of the bourgeoisie which assumes many and diverse forms."

History confirmed this conclusion. Nobody can deny the fact that in the course of its establishment socialism is resisted tooth and nail by the old ruling exploiting classes and their adherents, and can only hold out as a result of cohesion on the part of the working class and all working people on the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat, exercised under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party equipped with a scientific theory of the class struggle.

The conclusion to be drawn from the experience accumulated so far is a priceless lesson of modern and recent history, the essence of which is that in order for socialism to win and push ahead, definite social and political conditions are necessary. Namely, the working class, led by its vanguard, the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party, must take over political power, break the old machinery of state, and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. In view of its objective situation, the working class has an interest in building a society which rules out the exploitation of man

² V. I. Lenin, 'A Great Beginning', *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 422.

by man. It employs the dictatorship of the proletariat so as to overcome the energetic resistance offered by the classes and forces which have been tumbled from the top of the social pyramid; to effect radical changes in the relations of production, distribution and exchange, and in the social structure; to build the material and technical foundations of socialism; and to involve the mass of the toiling peasantry and other sections of the working people in socialist construction.

For these ends, the dictatorship of the proletariat is established, without which the political power of the working class could not last for even an hour. This conclusion, following from the experience of the Paris Commune, is borne out by the entire history of the class struggle waged by the proletariat in the conditions of imperialism, and is confirmed by the real experience of socialist revolutions.

The system of the dictatorship of the proletariat intensifies and extends the results of the revolution, whether it develops in peaceful or armed form. The revolutionaries must, however, be prepared to effect a flexible and swift change from peaceful forms of revolution to armed action by the masses, depending upon the reaction of the bourgeoisie and the situation arising therefrom. The dictatorship of the proletariat represents the power of the working class, the alliance of the working people, led by the working class. It implies the leading role of the communist party; use of the socialist state as the major factor in building socialism; the influence of the public organi-

sations of the working people on the masses; development of socialist democracy and scientific-political management of the economy, culture, and the entire life of society; and the extension of the working people's social and political freedoms, rights, and duties.

In establishing the dictatorship of the working class, the socialist revolution replaces the exploiting state machinery by one capable of ensuring real political power for the working people, with the working class in the lead. Bourgeois democratic institutions—e.g., the parliamentary system, general elections, and so on—may be employed in the interests of the revolution. To deal with the problems of socialist construction, however, it is necessary to fill the old forms with a new social and class content, creating new institutions and replacing bureaucratic centralism, typical of the bourgeois political system, with democratic centralism, inherent in the political system of socialism.

The dictatorship of the working class fulfils both internal and external functions. It suppresses the resistance of and isolates the exploiting classes; augments the friendly alliance and relations of cooperation and mutual assistance between the working class, peasantry and working intelligentsia; builds the foundations of socialist society; ensures protection of socialist construction from attacks by the imperialist powers; strengthens the international solidarity of the working class and all working people; supports the just struggle of the oppressed peoples and the revolutionary na-

tional liberation movements; and promotes the development of economic and cultural relations on a world scale, and the struggle for peace.

Recognition of the natural and logical character of the dictatorship of the proletariat, irrespective of what form it may take, distinguishes consistent fighters for the interests of the working class from those who underestimate the revolutionary role of the proletarian state and violence in abolishing the bourgeois system, and overestimate bourgeois democracy. 'Left' opportunism, too, rejects in effect the Marxist-Leninist essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, putting in its place a bureaucratic-military dictatorship.

The dictatorship of the working class is the rule of the majority, i.e., of the mass of working people, over the minority, the former exploiters. Its main objective is building a new society, and performing economic, organisational-political, educational-cultural, and ideological functions. The dictatorship of the working class means real democracy for the broadest mass of the working people, whose interests it directly represents.

In considering the question of the dictatorship of the working class, one must say that one cannot speak about the advantages of socialism out of context with the real processes developing in the capitalist world, such as its growing contradictions, or without considering the intense forms of class struggle.

Proletarian democracy inherent in the dictatorship of the working class means limited democracy for a part of society, i.e., for the insignificant exploiting

minority, which does not exceed 2-4 per cent of the population in most countries. Bourgeois democracy, on the other hand, which is an expression of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, means limited democracy for the great majority of society, for the working class and other wage-earners. And although bourgeois democracy is historically progressive, compared with the middle ages, it necessarily remains, as Lenin stressed, a limited democracy, 'false and hypocritical, a paradise for the rich and a snare and deception for the exploited, the poor.'

The state of the dictatorship of the working class is many times more democratic than the most democratic bourgeois republic, as it expresses the interests of and serves all working people. It provides conditions that make all material and cultural values the property of those who produce them—the working class and all working people. Its foundation is the rule of the working class led by the communist party, and the establishment and consolidation of public ownership of the means of production.

Under the dictatorship of the working class, the forms of socialist democracy are steadily improved, and it develops, employing such ways and means as make it possible to achieve the broadest involvement of working people in the solution of all cardinal problems of building socialism. Solution of these problems is guaranteed by the leading role of the working

¹ V. I. Lenin, 'The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky', *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, Moscow, 1965, p. 243.

class, extension of the functions of scientific-political administration of society, and the greater role of Marxist-Leninist parties in advancing the functions of the state and mass organisations in developing the economy and carrying on cultural and educational work.

Socialist democracy grants working people real rights and freedoms, simultaneously demanding discipline and organisation, and a high sense of public responsibility. This is achieved through education and persuasion, supplemented by economic incentives connected with the socialist principle of distribution according to work performed or according to each individual's contribution to production, distribution being regulated by the socialist state in conformity with economic laws.

The role of the dictatorship of the proletariat is therefore not merely to apply revolutionary violence with respect to the bourgeoisie. It is 'a persistent struggle—bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative—against the forces and traditions of the old society. The force of habit in millions and tens of millions is a most formidable force'.¹

The relation between separate functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat is subject to change. With the abolition of the bourgeoisie and the disappearance of the capitalist sector in the economy, its democratic character becomes increasingly evident.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Left-Wing" Communism—an Infantile Disorder', *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 44.

The working people grow more organised and politically aware, and develop a socialist attitude to work.

The bourgeoisie, which does not lose all its economic positions and financial and other means overnight, retains its connections with unstable elements in the society and the bourgeoisie in other countries, does not resign itself to the successes of socialist construction, tries to sabotage it, and, in some circumstances, does not stop short at counter-revolutionary action and civil war.

The changed alignment of forces after the Second World War in favour of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism, the influence of the USSR—the first socialist state in human history; and the mutual solidarity of the socialist countries and the international communist and working-class movement are producing new conditions for the revolutionary struggle. The proletariat has always sought to make the change-over to the new social system as painless as possible. The acuteness of the class struggle has always depended on the conduct of the bourgeoisie.

In Soviet Russia, the bourgeoisie unleashed a civil war. In the popular democratic revolutions, e.g., in Czechoslovakia after 1945, the bourgeoisie spared no efforts to hinder the advance of the revolution, yet the decisive battle was won without bloodshed. In February 1948, the revolutionary forces suppressed the attempt of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie to reverse the course of events, and that was done wholly in keeping with the Constitution and laws. The programme of the National Front was approved

by the constitutional bodies, with the broad, unanimous support of the working class and all labouring sections of society, which staged mass demonstrations. The reactionaries had underestimated the maturity and organisation of the working people, the influence of the Communist Party, and the relation of internal and international forces. The working class, led by the Communist Party, could not be content with partial reforms of the old system and, relying on its alliance with the peasantry and progressive intelligentsia, and helped by its organs of government, carried out a far-reaching social revolution.

But such a development of the revolution does not mean that the defeated classes surrender their positions or leave the historical scene without resistance, without attempting to reverse the course of the revolutionary events, gain time, and strike at the working people's gains. The international working class will never forget the lessons of counter-revolution, of the White Terror, starting with the Paris Commune and ending with the fascist revolt in Chile and other tragic events of recent times.

Lenin wrote: 'As man's history-making activity grows broader and deeper, the size of that mass of the population which is the conscious maker of history is bound to increase'.¹ The interests and requirements of the working class and the overwhelming majority of the people are defended by the Marxist-Leninist parties, which wage an unremitting struggle

¹ V. I. Lenin, 'The Heritage We Renounce', *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, 1972, p. 524.

against petty-bourgeois and bourgeois ideology, and to enhance their influence on the working class, and protect its interests. In the absence of a party, it is impossible to draw the masses into the administration of society. The dictatorship of the proletariat can be exercised only if there is a steady increase in the leading role of the party. 'Parties,' Lenin stressed, 'may represent the interests of their class in one degree or another; they may undergo changes or modifications, but we do not yet know of any better form. The entire course of the struggle waged by Soviet Russia, which for three years has withstood the onslaught of world imperialism, is bound up with the fact that the Party has consciously set out to help the proletariat perform its function of educator, organiser and leader, without which the collapse of capitalism is impossible.'

Under concrete historical conditions, a multiparty system, that is, the Communists' cooperation with other socialist and democratic parties in building real socialism, while strengthening the power of the working class and all working people, is possible and desirable.

A multiparty political system exists in some socialist countries, for instance, Bulgaria, the GDR, and Hungary. It is based on the alliance of the vanguard of the working class—the Communist Party—and other political parties expressing the interests and aims of the other groups of working people, viz., the peasants,

¹ V. I. Lenin, 'Speech Delivered at an All-Russia Conference of Political Education Workers of Gubernia and Uyezd Education Departments, November 3, 1920', *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, 1966, p. 367.

artisans, and working intelligentsia. All these parties support the prospect of building socialism and the leading role of the working class and of its party, and act jointly, fraternally combining and harmonising the interests of the different groups of working people so as to promote the progressive development of their countries. But in these countries there is no—nor can there be—‘political pluralism’ in the sense of the so-called free play of forces of progressive and counter-revolutionary parties.

The dictatorship of the proletariat also differs from the previous class dictatorships in that it promulgates and implements the programme of its own withering away. At the stage of the developed socialist society, simultaneously with the development of the socialist state system, the activities of the state become ever more closely and comprehensively integrated with those of the broadest sections of the people, giving rise to the socialist state of the whole people. The responsibility, significance and prestige of the communist and workers’ parties, as well as of mass organisations, increase. Thus the key creative functions of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat—those of organising the economy and conducting cultural and educational work—extend, and democratic centralism, the real democratism of the socialist social system, develops.

The building of socialist and communist society is a profoundly internationalist matter, presupposing the responsibility and solidarity of the working class of different nations and peoples. The socialist sys-

tem is the historical service and property of the international working class. The successful implementation of socialist construction in the socialist community countries and more efficient utilisation of the advantages of socialism constitute a major contribution of their working class to the world revolutionary process.

The international working class constantly renders moral and political support to the socialist countries. The struggle for peace, democracy and socialism, the great scope of the national liberation movement, and the growing unity of the main forces in the world revolutionary process create favourable conditions for successful socialist development.

The world socialist system is forming and developing gradually. This is determined above all by the fact that the socialist countries are at different levels of development. While in the USSR a developed socialist society has been built, other socialist countries are either building it or still dealing with the problems of the transition period, i.e., those of building the foundations of socialism. In addition to this, there are specific conditions prevailing in each country as a result of the distinctive features of its previous historical development.

One important component of the establishment of the world socialist system is the building of the world socialist economic system. The advantages inherent in the organisation of the material and technical foundations of socialism and the socialist socialisation of labour and production can at present be utilised

only given intensive, effective cooperation by all socialist countries, by the world socialist system as a whole. The socialist countries build their relations on the basis of the principles of equality, free will and socialist internationalism.

The distinctive features of socialist construction in different countries stem from the initial conditions, present in these countries from the difference in their levels of economic, political, and cultural development. Certain difficulties also effect it. In the countries where imperialism left the productive forces at a low level, where they had to develop from a comparatively low level of socialisation, the problems involved in building socialism are more complex. In other countries disproportions in the development of individual industries or in the utilisation of resources may spring up. An exceptional role in this process is played by the experience and maturity of the subjective factor, e.g., the leading public organisations and executive personnel.

The CPSU and other communist and workers' parties of the socialist community do not make an ideal of the experience of individual countries or of separate features of any society building socialism in which historical and national distinctiveness is manifested. Each country is affected by diverse empirical circumstances, specific natural, objective (initial) and internal conditions and the external influence of the international situation. The general objective laws governing socialist construction in different countries can be disclosed only by generalising from the sum

total of the processes and developments involved. Moreover, it is necessary to take into account certain new circumstances which may arise when making use of the material prerequisites and subjective conditions that have taken shape under capitalism, and to consider the growing role of the world socialist system and the first country of developed socialism, the USSR.

The most complete statement of the general laws governing the building of socialism is contained in the Declaration of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist Countries, held in Moscow in 1957. They are:

- guidance of the working masses by the working class, the core of which is the Marxist-Leninist party, in effecting proletarian revolution in one form or another and establishing one form or another of the dictatorship of the proletariat;
- the alliance of the working class and the bulk of the peasantry and other sections of the working people;
- the abolition of capitalist ownership and the establishment of public ownership of the basic means of production;
- gradual socialist reconstruction of agriculture;
- planned development of the national economy aimed at building socialism and communism, at raising the standard of living of the working people;
- the carrying out of the socialist revolution in the sphere of ideology and culture and the creation of a numerous intelligentsia devoted to the working class, the working people and the cause of socialism;

- the abolition of national oppression and the establishment of equality and fraternal friendship among peoples;
- defence of the achievements of socialism against attacks by external and internal enemies;
- solidarity of the working class of the country concerned with the working class of other countries, that is, proletarian internationalism.

The general objective laws governing the building of socialism are creatively employed by the fraternal parties as a guide to building socialism in the concrete circumstances prevailing in a given country.

Lenin wrote: 'All nations will arrive at socialism—this is inevitable, but all will do so in not exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own to some form of democracy, to some variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the varying rate of socialist transformations in the different aspects of social life.'

2. Socialism: Essence, Principal Features and Aims

Socialism, which has become a reality in the USSR and many other countries of the world socialist system, is steadily growing stronger and developing, passing through a number of stages in the process. To disclose the advantages of socialism is to disclose its essence,

¹ V. I. Lenin, 'A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism', *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, Moscow, 1964, p. 70.

the objective laws of its functioning, its principles, and aims.

Socialism is a society of emancipated, socialised labour, based on socialist ownership of the means of production, and the political rule of the working class, of the working people. It is a highly organised society, developing according to plan and scientifically administered on the basis of democratic centralism, a society with qualitatively new forms of participation by the people in the economic, political, and cultural life. In this society, on the basis of public ownership of the means of production, relations of genuine collectivism, cooperation and comradely mutual assistance are firmly established; new and better opportunities for the development of production, administration and culture emerge; men's abilities and talents unfold; and their needs, especially the need for creative work, increase. The working man, whose social activity and creative initiative are the decisive factor in building the new life, becomes the hub of society's development. Achievement of the aims of socialism is ensured as working people are drawn on a large scale into public activity and conditions are provided enabling each citizen to increase his personal contribution to the public welfare.

There are different factors testifying to the maturity of socialist society, the principal one of them being the level to which the productive forces and socio-economic relations, the real socialisation of labour and production, and the socialist relations of property are developed, and the degree to which the objective

laws of socialism are brought into play. A definite balance is achieved between relations of production and the character of the productive forces, and a material and technical foundation adequate to the new social system is built. A unity of social labour and social property emerges, i.e., the means of production turn into the proper objective conditions of the existence of labour, which, in its turn, appropriates these conditions as a collective force. The unity of labour and property is manifested under socialism above all in the activity of the working class, whose leading role is based on socialist ownership of the means of production and on its being the main productive force, owing to its connection with the kinds of production which are the most advanced technically, technologically, and economically.

The policy of socialist society is based on principles which follow from the objective laws governing the building of socialism and communism, such as, for example, the main principle of socialism, 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his work', the principles of democratic centralism, proletarian internationalism, and so on. Their implementation becomes increasingly consistent as the essence of socialism develops and deepens.

Simultaneously there occurs the process of moulding the harmonious individual.

Socialism is an independent, prolonged phase of development, which consists of stages following one another in a definite succession, and is governed by specific objective laws. Socialism will not grow over

into communism until every possibility of its own development has been exhausted. Mature socialism develops on its own foundations, on the basis of the economy, policy, social and class structure, culture and ideology adequate to it.

The objective laws of socialism also govern the development of socialism into communism.

In a developed socialist society, the creative abilities of the masses are displayed ever more broadly, and the objective laws of socialism are manifested and used in the interests of the working class and all working people ever more fully. The material, cultural and intellectual prerequisites of man's all-round development appear in society. In this lies the meaning of social progress, which attains its summit under communism.

The socialist countries now at the stage of building mature socialism are tackling the problems of further advancing the productive forces, perfecting social relations, and providing the conditions for the all-round development of the individual. The harmonious development of socialist society as an integral system implies taking into account the reciprocal multilateral relations of its separate parts, of such factors, above all, as the growth of labour productivity and the efficiency of production. It has been stressed at congresses of the fraternal parties that a developed socialist society, the building of which constitutes the current stage of development, is characterised above all by a joining of the advances of the scientific and technical revolution with the new so-

cial relations, and by a comprehensive solution of political, socio-economic, cultural, and educational-ideological problems, which makes it possible to satisfy people's ever-growing needs.

A Marxist-Leninist analysis of society implies a comprehensive approach, all conditions on which progress depends being studied and intrinsic distinctive features and contradictions revealed. Simultaneously this analysis is based on the singling out of essential relationships of social phenomena and key social processes. The latter, according to Marx, are the relations among men in the sphere of production. In the dialectics of relations of production and productive forces, he discovered the basic structure from which the entire network of complex social relationships develops. The level of development of productive forces and of maturity of social relations, the degree of utilisation of economic laws and socialism's internal organisation, social homogeneity and harmony, the proportionateness of the development of its individual spheres, their comprehensiveness and balance, the democratism of management, the amount of individual freedom, and the increased well-being of the working people may be considered as general criteria of the degree to which socialism has developed. The character of the changes and progress in all spheres of social life is determined by the fundamental changes in the mode of production, the high level of socialisation, the intensiveness and efficiency of production, the wealth of real opportunities for human development, the harmonious combination of social, collective and individual

interests, and the social, political, moral, and ideological unity of society.

As has already been pointed out, the strategic aim of socialism and communism is to provide for the all-round development of all members of society. This aim is objectively inherent in the main economic law of socialism, which essentially consists in making social production serve the satisfaction of the growing material, cultural and intellectual requirements and unhampered all-round development of all members of society, and in creating the material conditions necessary for it by advancing production.

The socio-economic conditions underlying the development of socialism are not static. The operation of the main economic law of socialism intensifies as the social system attains maturity. Speaking at the 24th CPSU Congress of the material possibilities of realising the economic laws of socialism, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev said: 'In the early stages of building socialism, it will be recalled, we were compelled to concentrate on the top priorities, on which the very existence of the young Soviet state depended. Now the situation is changing. Not only do we wish to—for we have always wished it—but we can and must deal simultaneously with a broader set of problems... While breaking through in one sector or another, be it ever so important, we can no longer afford any drawn-out lag in any of the others.'

¹ 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1971, p. 48.

Coming to the fore at present is the integrity of the economic system, the comprehensive character of its economic and social development and the combining of long-term and current problems, of sectoral and territorial planning, which includes utilisation of natural resources and the accumulated technical potential, and efforts to make production more efficient and reduce production losses, on the one hand, and protection of the environment and its more rational adaptation to man's needs, on the other. Such combining of the principles of the socialist economy presupposes the presence of appropriate material conditions or it would be mere wishful thinking. For example, the problems of environmental protection are linked with definite requirements as to the organisation of social labour.

Where there are new problems, there must also be new means of dealing with them. The economic laws of socialism are utilised in the context of the scientific and technological revolution, which alters the technical-economic essence of the methods of production, promotes the creative growth of the working man, changes his attitude to nature, and requires new means of dealing with social problems. Society has to take into account not only the immediate consequences of technical solutions in a given sphere, but also the consequences that will follow for other related areas of social life. Socialist socio-economic relations make it necessary to forecast the effect of man's influence on nature. These interrelationships are fully provided for under real socialism, this being

one of the distinctive characteristics of the development of mature socialism.

The scientific and technological revolution helps to a considerable extent to deal with the problems involved in building the material and technical foundations of communism, attain the stage of developed socialism, and also achieve success in the economic race with capitalism. In the documents of the communist parties of the socialist countries, making use of the scientific and technological revolution and combining its results with the advantages of the socialist system are defined as the main factors in building a material and technical base corresponding to developed socialism. One cannot, however, agree with the view that the scientific and technological revolution is by itself, quite apart from the relations of production, a criterion of the maturity of the socialist system. One essential distinctive feature of socialism consists in the all-round, gradual development of man as the main productive force and the subject of socio-economic relations, and in his growing ability to avail himself of the opportunities offered by the socialist system. The level of the scientific and technological revolution is determined above all by the development of the main productive force, man. In order to serve this purpose well, the scientific and technological revolution must be a process consciously regulated and directed according to plan by society and the state.

Thus, we come again to the crux of the problem, i.e., the need to take into account the process of peo-

ple's all-round development and the character of the relations of production. What is required is a more detailed definition of the equality of men and classes with respect to the basic means of production under socialism and the still continuing inequality in the sphere of distribution according to work performed.

The immediate relation of the owners of the means of production to the immediate producers, Marx wrote, is a relation each form of which corresponds to a definite stage in the development of production and is the hidden basis of the social system.

Under capitalism, labour is rapidly socialised through large-scale production, monopoly domination, and the rule of finance capital, which causes an unprecedented squandering of social energies, above all, those of the principal producer, the working class. The founders of Marxism-Leninism stressed, therefore, that the socialist revolution was the most thorough negation of traditional property relations, that it created new conditions for the socialisation of labour and production by establishing public ownership of the means of production and introducing planned, organised regulation of society's development.

Socialist property develops in a way which is far from simple, and which starts with the nationalisation of the basic means of production.

The development of socialist property is based on a harmonious and more or less simultaneous development of all the main spheres of society, including politics, ideology, culture and the processes of the emer-

gence of new forms of production and labour activity and the improvement of the political management of society. After nationalisation has been completed, the improvement of property relations in the course of building socialism, and then on socialism's own foundations, comes to the fore.

The problem of quality and efficiency of labour and production is closely bound up with their further socialisation and the consolidation of socialist property.

The development of technical and organisational factors¹ is a highly important prerequisite of these processes. Lenin rightly pointed out that the socialisation and further improvement of socialist property was linked with the progress of science and technology and the mastering of new resources, and simultaneously with the development of methods of organisation and management, better research facilities, and an adequate supply of qualified personnel for the national economy.

An important way of advancing production in the course of building a developed socialist society is its intensification. This problem is not confined to the

¹ In this connection the following two extremes are encountered: while the 'left' radicals (e.g., the 'New Left', Neo-Trotskyites, and the like) think little of the progress of science and technology, the right-wing opportunists and advocates of capitalism believe that it can resolve all of mankind's crucial problems. In either instance, the technical and economic (technical and organisational) aspect is viewed in isolation from the socio-economic aspect.

use of new scientific discoveries, computerisation and introduction of the latest methods of production management. The achievements of science and technology which serve production lead to the further division of labour, accompanied by growing cooperation and enormous concentration of production. Therefore, the revolution performed by socialism in the sphere of production is largely concerned with its greater socialisation on the basis of public ownership. These processes are accompanied by the development of economic relationships in all aspects of production, at all stages of reproduction, i.e., production, distribution, exchange, and consumption. The internationalisation of economic ties between the countries in the socialist community becomes increasingly necessary. The significance of the socialisation of production transcends the limits of scientific and technological changes in the economy; the process is inseparable from economic growth at large. Socialisation not only presupposes certain technical and organisational forms, but has socio-economic significance above all. It is responsible for the greater importance of public ownership as a social and economic factor of social progress. Public ownership increases the work collective's social responsibility for properly using the means of production directly at its disposal, rationally utilising the achievements of science and technology, and natural resources, for ensuring the necessary balance in the development of production, and for making production more efficient.

It must be stressed that this real form of social re-

lations is linked with the political sphere, which, by its due consideration of the objective economic laws of socialism, promotes the combination of the interests of society, the work collective, and the individual, thereby enhancing the responsibility of work collectives for the affairs of society.

Effective combination of economic requirements and social rules stimulating unhampered creative work, and concurrence of the interests of society, the collective and the individual are impossible in the conditions of capitalist market relations, with their corresponding methods of using the results of the scientific and technological revolution.

Under socialism, public ownership forms the basis of the economic system and simultaneously of every aspect of social development. Owing to the predominance of public ownership and the improvement of its forms, developed socialism has become a society in which powerful productive forces and a progressive science and culture have been created, in which the people's living standards are constantly rising, and more and more favourable conditions are being provided for the all-round development of the individual. It is a society of high organisational capacity, ideological commitment, and awareness of the working people, characterised by high discipline, initiative, by devotion to the cause of socialism, patriotism and internationalism. Thanks to the relations of public ownership, socialism is developing into a socially homogeneous society as all social strata, classes, nations and nationalities draw together. Thus

the idea of the fraternal solidarity of all working people is being realised in practice as the supreme expression of their growing freedom and equality.

The processes of socialism's development express the unity of the objective and the subjective factors. The communist parties of the socialist countries have elaborated a conception of the developed socialist society which forms the basis of any realistic political line of action.

During the building of developed socialism and communism, greater significance attaches to the subjective factor. This implies, above all, the consolidation of the leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, which concerns itself with the rational use of society's material and cultural resources, constantly keeps account of the needs and interests of the working people, regulates social processes, and fosters new forms of social activity by citizens.

The masses grow more and more educated, better trained, and more organised. The ideological and organisational unity of the masses makes it possible to solve intricate problems which emerge in the course of socialist and communist construction.

Collective moral and organisational stimuli and voluntary observance of the principles of collectivity gradually come to play a greater and greater part. It becomes increasingly possible for society as a whole to exert a comprehensive influence on the development of all areas of public life and conservation of the environment.

3. Socialism: Emergence and Stages of Development

'The bourgeois relations of production,' Marx wrote, 'are the last antagonistic form of the social process of production—antagonistic not in the sense of individual antagonism, but of one arising from the social conditions of life of the individuals; at the same time the productive forces developing in the womb of bourgeois society create the material conditions for the solution of that antagonism. This social formation brings, therefore, the prehistory of human society to a close.'¹

Removing social antagonisms from the life of society, socialism leads out into the social arena the great mass of the working people, the real makers of history. In this sense, socialism begins the real history of human society, reflecting the constructive work of the masses, of the working class and its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist party, a political party of a new type.

Thus, socialism's place in history is determined by the fact that it opens the real history of human society, when it is free from social antagonisms. In socialist society there is no exploitation of man by man, no economic compulsion, no clashing of class interests, economic crises, unemployment, no economic or social backwardness of peoples and regions.

¹ Karl Marx, 'Preface to a Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy', in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, in three volumes, Vol. 1, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p. 504.

This demonstrates the advantages of socialism as a young, dynamically developing social system.

Bourgeois sociologists contend that the role of socialism in history is similar to that of state-monopoly capitalism, as both, according to them, pave the way for the so-called postindustrial society. The unsoundness of this assertion is obvious. It is aimed at confusing and disorganising the workers in the capitalist countries and persuading them that it is possible to go over to a new social system without any social revolution, class struggle or the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The question of the historical place of socialism is of great importance to the strategy of the international communist and working-class movement, the development of the anti-imperialist struggle, and the further progress of the world socialist system. Another important question is the correlation of socialism and communism, the correlation of the individual stages in the development of socialism, and the common features of the two phases of the communist formation and their development. The solution of these problems is facilitated by the concrete realisation of the strategy of the building of socialism and communism.

The problems of the historical place and developmental dynamics of socialism and communism were treated in broad outline in the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Marx and Engels constantly specified their conception of the main features of the future society and of the phases of its development.

Lenin developed their postulates further, simultaneously making some points more concrete, with due account of the international and domestic conditions induced by the emergence of imperialism—the highest stage of capitalism. In view of the further accumulation of revolutionary experience and the building of socialist society in other countries, these conclusions were developed further in the documents of the CPSU and the fraternal communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries, in the documents of the international communist and working-class movement and in theoretical discussions held by Marxists-Leninists. The socialist countries and the international working-class movement take a creative approach to the conclusions drawn by the founders of Marxism-Leninism, in the spirit of their revolutionary legacy.

Considering the question of the historical place of socialism, Marx substantiated, in his *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, the conception of the two phases of communism, pointing out that 'between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. Corresponding to this is also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat'.¹ Developing and enriching the Marxist propositions, Lenin arrived at the conclusion that communism, in the early

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, in three volumes, Vol. 3, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p. 26.

stages of the first phase, cannot be fully mature economically, completely free from the traditions or vestiges of capitalism. Distribution still accords with the amount of work performed, strict account must be kept of the measure of labour and of consumption, and individual material incentives within the framework of society's responsibility for each worker, and each worker's responsibility for the welfare of society, are still necessary.

Describing the first phase of development, Marx wrote: 'What we have to deal with here is a communist society, not as it has *developed* on its own foundations, but, on the contrary, just as it *emerges* from capitalist society; which is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birthmarks of the old society from whose womb it emerges.'¹ Socialism is not yet complete communism, but even so, it has features that are common to the communist formation as a whole. The natural features of this formation are manifested under it in less developed form. Lenin stressed that 'insofar as the means of production become *common* property, the word "communism" is also applicable here, providing we do not forget that this is *not* complete communism'.² The common aim of socialism and communism is to create the conditions for the all-round development of the individual and

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

² V. I. Lenin, 'The State and Revolution', *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, Moscow, 1964, p. 471.

the satisfaction of his needs by attaining a high level of productive forces and relations of production.

The discussions of Marxists-Leninists, which draw on the experience of socialist construction, help to develop the concepts of socialism, especially the relation between the essence of socialism and the birthmarks of capitalism, the development of socialism on its own foundations, and so on. Their conclusions promote a better understanding of the process whereby socialism grows over into communism. The theoreticians, moreover, proceed from the premise that socialism is a qualitatively definite, relatively long phase in the development of communist society, during which both general features of the formation as a whole, and the specific laws and features of socialism as an integral system operate. The experience of building socialism shows that the inevitable historical period between capitalism and socialism, which starts with the launching of the dictatorship of the proletariat (after the victorious socialist revolution) and terminates in the inauguration of the socialist phase of the communist socio-economic formation, is determined by the complexity of the class struggle, pluralistic pattern of the economy and by the need to abolish private ownership of the means of production, to convert small-scale production into large-scale socialist production, to perform a cultural revolution, and to lay the foundations of socialism in all areas of social life.

The transition period is not determined by any—even the most important—single aspect of the social

process. It paves the way for victorious socialism, yet it does not form a part of its first stage, which begins with the building of its foundations, since it does not correspond to the qualitative characteristics of socialism. It gives expression to the specific developmental features of individual countries, but it has objective, general natural features of its own.

During the transition period, a fierce class struggle goes on between the advancing forces of socialism and the forces representing the capitalist or pre-capitalist system. The pluralistic pattern of the economy still exists, but socialisation of the means of production on the principles of socialist ownership steadily gains in importance. The country becomes industrialised, agriculture is organised along cooperative lines, and the basis of comprehensive and unified national planning is laid.

One essential condition for the triumph of the socialist mode of production is the socialisation of farm production by drawing individual peasant households in various ways into collective (cooperative) production.

During the transition period, a twofold social process takes place. The economy, based in the past on labour exploitation and private ownership of the means of production, is reorganised and the old class pattern is abolished, and a new social class structure, represented by friendly classes, social groups and sections of the working people, is formed.

Simultaneously, an acute class struggle continues. The remnants of the overthrown classes try to enlist

the support of vacillators, to be found particularly among the peasants. Therefore, the victorious working class must strengthen its class alliance with the working peasants, stamp out the rural bourgeoisie as a class, draw the average peasant into the struggle for socialism, firmly rely on the poor peasants, and speed up socialist change in the countryside. And although the bourgeoisie as a class cannot reconcile itself to the dictatorship of the proletariat, its separate groups may nevertheless cooperate for some time economically and politically with the new social force.

The dictatorship of the proletariat takes resolute steps to overcome the antithesis, inherited from capitalism, between town and country and between mental and physical labour, it ends national oppression and promotes cooperation and mutual assistance among the peoples that have embarked on the road to socialism.

During the transition period, the tendency towards consolidating the positions of socialism becomes stronger. As a result of the class struggle, which proceeds in various forms, the old world keeps losing its positions one after another. Notwithstanding this, it can rally its forces so as to retard the revolutionary process or restore capitalism. That is why the revolution, as Lenin taught, must consolidate its defences. It can carry out its tasks only given broad proletarian solidarity and implementation of the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Thus, the transition period is an objective natural process which cannot be underestimated without

harming the interests of the revolution. It ends with the elimination of capitalist production and bourgeois social relations in every shape and form, and the creation of economic, social and political conditions making the restoration of capitalism impossible.

Historical experience of the development of socialism shows that after the transition period is over—after the foundations of socialism have been built, as this boundary is defined in the USSR—socialism enters the stage of its firm establishment in all spheres of the life of society, i.e., the stage of consistently building developed socialist society. The creation of the material and technical foundations of socialism means that the new social system has acquired a material basis of its own, having changed its social nature, the organisation of the productive forces, and that it has firmly established new relations of production, based on two forms of public property, i.e., state (belonging to all the people) and collective-farm-cooperative property which presupposes a planned development of the entire socialist economy.

Even at this stage, the socialist economy is developing at a rate which demonstrates the advantages of socialism, labour productivity being higher than under the old bourgeois system or during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

The second stage is developed socialism, a new historical landmark on the road to communism. Its distinctive feature is that, scientific and technological progress having been combined with the advantages of socialism, highly developed productive forces

have been created and a drastic turn has been effected towards intensive economic development. The organisation of social production at large has changed, becoming the key element of socialism's own foundations, and satisfying more fully than before the qualitatively greater requirements of society and man. Relations of production and the character of labour have been perfected. Developed socialism is the stage of maturity of the new society at which all social relations are completely and finally reorganised on the basis of the collectivist principles inherent in socialism. Hence it provides the free scope for the operation of the laws of socialism and manifestation of its advantages in every field. Hence the organic integrity and dynamism of the social system, its political stability, and its unbreakable internal unity. In the political sphere, developed socialism implies the further broad development of democracy.

The building of developed socialist society, however, far from exhausts the potentialities of socialism.

What is the perspective for socialist development? As history testifies, it is impossible to pass from the transition period, after a relatively brief interval, directly to communism. 'Until the "higher" phase of communism arrives,' Lenin wrote, 'the socialists demand the *strictest* control by society and by the state over the measure of labour and the measure of consumption'.¹

Socialism should not be seen as some sort of tran-

¹ V. I. Lenin, 'The State and Revolution', *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 470.

sitional stage on the road to communism, without any qualitative basis of its own.

We have already noted that the essence of socialism differs from that of communism, that it has its own features. But basically this essence is the same, being the promotion of man's all-round development, and thus of conditions in which his abilities will flower and his needs will be satisfied. Yet this goal is not realised in the same degree at different stages of communism, and even at different stages of socialism. It would therefore be no less wrong, and actually metaphysical, to regard socialism and socialist relations as something immutable. Lenin noted in this connection: '...how infinitely mendacious is the ordinary bourgeois conception of socialism as something lifeless, rigid, fixed once and for all...' The developed socialist society solves the problems of building the material and technical foundations of communism as the conditions for passing on to communist relations.

Communism is a society where there is single national ownership of the means of production and complete social equality of citizens, where, along with man's all-round development, the productive forces will grow on the basis of major advances in science and technology, labour will change in character and become a prime vital necessity, classes will disappear, as will the essential differences between town and country and between mental and physical work. The old division of labour will be end-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 472.

ed; manual workers will rise to the same cultural and technical level as brain workers. Society will attain the highest stage of balanced organisation of social production as a whole, ensuring the greatest productivity of labour and the most effective utilisation of material and manpower resources for the fullest possible satisfaction of the *reasonable* needs of its members. Lenin wrote: 'There will then be no need for society, in distributing products, to regulate the quantity to be received by each; each will take freely "according to his needs".' But this higher phase of communism 'presupposes not the present productivity of labour and *not the present* ordinary run of people who ... are capable of damaging the stocks of public wealth "just for fun", and of demanding the impossible'.

Communism is a highly organised society of free, politically aware working people, in which public self-government will be established, and whose material and technical base, highly efficient labour, and communist social relations will ensure the realisation of the principle 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs'.

The establishment of communism represents a degree of continuity with those characteristics of socialism expressing the uniform essence of socialism and communism and simultaneously an achievement of a higher level. The specific features inherent to socialism will necessarily disappear.

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 469-70. Lenin wrote these lines before the Great October Socialist Revolution.—Ed.

The period of the further development of mature socialism and its transformation into communism will take a relatively long time. During this period, social relations and the moral and political standards and attitude to labour of all working people will approach, as nearly as possible, the level at which the working class and its foremost contingents can fulfil their social role. Simultaneously, the working class itself will develop, rising, as a whole, to the level which, in the future, will invest it with the qualities of the worker of the communist type. Thus, on the basis of new, more mature material and social conditions, society will overcome the contradictions of socialism still remaining in the material and technical base, in the character of labour, in the relations of production, in people's requirements and the possibility of satisfying them, and in the method of distribution. The gradual development of socialism into communism is an objective law. The creation of the material prerequisites of the establishment of communism is ensured by the constructive work of the peoples of the socialist community countries in the course of their movement towards a developed socialist society. This lofty historic goal has now become an immediate practical task for the working people of the Soviet Union, who, under the guidance of the CPSU, have achieved the stage of developed socialism.

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY COUNTRIES

1. Realisation of the Advantages of Socialism in the Economy: Its Essence and Main Features

At the basis of the advantages of socialism as a whole, which are becoming increasingly evident in every area of social life in the socialist community countries, are its advantages in the economic sphere. Socialism, which liberates the main productive force of society, production workers, from exploitation and every other form of social oppression, thereby also liberating the whole society from class antagonisms, gives rise to a fundamentally new social organisation of production, with humane aims and powerful driving forces, such as cannot be attained under capitalism, underlying the development of production. A system of objective socialist economic laws, expressing the aims, criteria, and trends of the development of socialist social production, takes shape. These laws are more and more deeply understood by Marxist-Leninist science. Using the latter as their theoretical foundation, the communist and workers' parties of the socialist community deal with the socio-economic tasks following from the objective laws. On this basis, socialism ensures the steady growth of the productive forces, gearing the development of

production, ever more closely and consistently, to the growth of the people's material and cultural standards, and gradually providing the socio-economic prerequisites of the transition to the higher phase of the communist formation.

The advantages of socialist production manifest themselves in its every aspect. They include the superiority of the socialist relations of production, on the basis of which the exploitation of man by man is eliminated and the social aims and criteria of production activity typical of socialism take shape; the advantages of the mechanism of socialist managing, the aim of which is to ensure a development of production adequate to these aims and criteria; the advantages of the socialist economy with respect to the rate of growth of the productive forces and to economic proportions (their dynamic and stable development, increasingly better utilisation of resources, improvement of the pattern of production, and so on). In addition to this, one must say that all these advantages are merely a means towards the main goal of socialist production, which is to raise the people's living standards and gradually to provide the conditions for the all-round development of the individual. The presence of this goal and the steady advance towards it, the uninterrupted progress in man's social, material, and cultural and intellectual life in its indissoluble unity express most completely the historical purpose of the new social system and are the supreme criterion of the superiority of socialism over capitalism.

For the first time in human history, the development of society has been illuminated by the scientific Marxist-Leninist theory, which has discovered the objective laws of social progress. In the course of socialist construction, Marxist-Leninist theory, linked with practice, arms society with a more definite and deeper knowledge of these laws and the methods of their application. This augments the scientific soundness of the guidance of social development by communist and workers' parties, and makes this guidance more efficient.

Another characteristic of the process whereby the advantages of socialist production are realised is that this process is based on the social-production activity of the broad mass of the working people. The advantages of socialism become tangible only insofar as the working people get to know the laws of social development and the principles of socialism, and follow them in their daily practice. Therefore, the realisation of the advantages of socialism depends ever so much on the educational and organisational activities of the Marxist-Leninist parties, which set out to ensure the growth of the masses' political understanding and direct their energies towards building and improving the socialist society.

The third feature characterising the realisation of the economic advantages of socialism is that they are realised gradually, stage by stage. Even as socialist changes are being effected in the economy, such principles begin to be put into practice as having workers combine production functions proper and the

functions of production management and the management of public affairs in general, subordinating economic development to the long-term and current interests of the working people, fundamentally reorganising the distribution of the social product and national income in the interests of the working people, and so on.

These initial gains spell the creation of very important social conditions basic to the life of the working people under socialism.

We know that socialist society inherits one kind of productive forces or another and must then build its own material and technical foundations adequate to its essence and social aims. Creating the aforementioned social conditions is the first step in this direction. The building of socialism's own material and technical foundations is the next stage in the process of realising the advantages of the new system. In the countries which inherited a backward or lopsided economy when they took the socialist path, the material and technical foundations of socialism were built by industrialising the country or large areas of it. That often required a special effort to mobilise the national economic accumulations. Nevertheless, at this stage, too, the upsurge of production went hand in hand with the new social achievements of the socialist system, viz., the elimination of unemployment, establishment of an advanced, modern system of public education, health protection and social insurance, greater consumption of material and cultural goods by the population, and so on. Eventually,

in the course of building and improving the developed socialist society, it becomes possible to combine more closely the growth of production and of living standards. Concentrating their attention in the sphere of production on efficiency and quality, the communist and workers' parties gear their socio-economic policy entirely to new long-range objectives. The latter consist in ensuring the complete satisfaction of all social groups' basic material requirements, in conformity with scientifically substantiated, rational standards, even while distribution according to labour performed still prevails; ensuring better working conditions and enhancing the creative character of labour; accelerating the growth of citizens' cultural and intellectual requirements and providing for their ever fuller satisfaction.

To estimate correctly how the advantages of socialist production are realised, one must exercise a historical approach. One must take into account, first, the objective possibilities of the given historical stage and, second, the trends of socio-economic development that have emerged during the given period.

2. Victory of the Socialist Relations of Production

The advantages of the socialist economy signify its fundamental historical superiority over the capitalist economy, above all with respect to its social nature, the way in which the worker is connected with the means of production, and the type of relations bet-

ween people in production. The basic distinctive feature of the socialist economy lies in the worker's fundamentally different socio-economic situation, which rests on public ownership of the means of production. Socialising the means of production, the workers are simultaneously associated owners of the means of production. They control production and use its results in the interests of society as a whole and of each of its members. In this way socialism abolishes the division of society into the exploiters and the exploited, ends the exploiters' class monopoly of the management of production, and rules out the sale and purchase of labour, and appropriation by owners of capital of the surplus value produced by the labour of workers.

It must be stressed that socialist socialisation of the means of production corresponds to an objective need for the development of the productive forces and for social progress as a whole. Concentration of the means of production on the basis of public ownership above all, ownership of the whole people—makes it socially possible to regulate social production on a national scale, in accordance with a single national plan. From this follows yet another essential feature of socialist production, namely, that it eliminates anarchy, typical of the capitalist economy generally; excludes cut-throat competition between economic units; and puts an end to the spontaneous formation of national economic proportions and distribution of the productive forces, thereby creating conditions for a more rational utilisation of resources.

Establishment of socialist ownership of the means of production ensures a radical change in the goals of production and in the principles of distribution of its products in the interest of the working people. It creates the prerequisites of qualitative changes in the social division and character of labour, and of the development of truly democratic forms of production management. In close connection with this, a qualitatively new system of work incentives is formed, and not only material, but also ideological, moral, and intellectual ones.

The equal relation of the members of society to the means of production as socially-owned property puts their legal and actual equality on a solid foundation. It drastically limits the distinctions in people's standards of living, putting such distinctions within the boundaries determined by distribution according to work performed. Socialism sets up and expands a system of socio-economic guarantees of an existence compatible with human dignity. This system, which serves the implementation of the principle of social justice, includes the right to guaranteed employment and pay in accordance with the amount and quality of work performed; the right to rest and leisure, health protection, and maintenance in old age, in sickness, and in the event of complete or partial disability or loss of the breadwinner; the right to housing; and the right to education. These guarantees form the foundation of the political and individual rights and freedoms of the citizens, and are the condition of their implementation. With the ad-

vance of socialist society, these guarantees are extended, as can be seen from the new Soviet Constitution.

In the majority of the socialist countries, all branches of the national economy are founded on socialist ownership of the means of production, while the share of the population involved in the socialist sector is close to 100 per cent.

This conclusion can be confirmed by concrete indicators. Thus, in 1976¹ 99.8 per cent of all basic production assets were socially owned in Bulgaria, 99.1 per cent in Czechoslovakia, 99 per cent in the GDR, 99.5 per cent in Hungary, 99.99 per cent in Mongolia, 85.4 per cent in Poland, 99.3 per cent in Romania, and 100 per cent in the USSR. The share of the socialist sector in the aggregate industrial output of all the socialist countries amounts to 99 per cent.

All branches of the national economy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are based entirely on socialist property. In the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the socialist sector dominating the economy of the North of the country is being strengthened, while the economy of South Vietnam is undergoing socialist transformation.

In most of the socialist countries nobody works for hire for private employers. Where there are still a few very small enterprises using hired labour (or keeping

¹ The figures quoted by the authors refer mainly to the period up to 1977, i.e., before the monograph was completed.—*Ed.*

apprentices), the number of hired workers at such enterprises amounts to an insignificant proportion of the total force of industrial and office workers engaged in the national economy. In most of the socialist countries practically all peasants have gone over to the socialist form of economy, joining producers' cooperatives.

Far-reaching social changes have occurred also in those socialist countries where the pluralistic pattern of the economy has not yet been overcome and where there are more or less numerous social strata (mainly the peasants) based on small-commodity production. In these countries, too, socialism, which holds key positions, completely determines the path of society's development. In those countries where the small-commodity mode of production predominates, the successes scored by socialist construction make it possible today to ensure the leading role of the socialist sector with respect to the small-commodity sector, and increasingly to draw individual peasants into the farm produce production and sales system organised and controlled by the socialist state.

By socialising the means of production, socialism solves the cardinal problems of social progress.

First of all, as a result of socialisation of the means of production, the relations of production are in principle brought into keeping with the requirements of the development of the productive forces. The new production relations determine the new aims and criteria of the expansion of production and of its economic efficiency. This helps to strengthen

the community of fundamental interests of society, its classes, work collectives, and individual workers. There emerge workers of a new type, increasingly combining the functions of producers and masters of production, and regarding labour more and more as a duty and vital requirement.

Favourable social conditions for a more effective utilisation of national economic resources are established. It becomes possible to speed up the progress of science and technology and further the scientific and technological revolution, systematically regulating its social effects in the interest of man; the social conditions become favourable for environmental protection.

Lastly, the socialist socialisation of the means of production results in the emergence of international economic relations of a new type, expressive of the socialist countries' cooperation and mutual assistance.

As socio-economic development proceeds in the socialist countries, the socialist relations of production, the socialist social organisation of production, are further improved. The state sector and the cooperative form of economy becoming interconnected and drawn together, the working people are given a greater part in the management of production, the socialist relations of distribution are perfected, and so on. The solution of these problems leads to a higher maturity of the socialist relations of production and a fuller realisation of their essence.

Thus, as socialist social ownership of the means of production is firmly established, it becomes possible

to subordinate the development of production to the aims of raising the people's living standards and promoting the gradual emergence of the requisite conditions for the free and all-round development of the individual. Such is the objective, the supreme goal of socialist production, which society has perceived and taken as its guide to action. In pursuing this goal, socialist society rules out methods of expanding production and making it more effective that are incompatible with its social tasks and principles, social justice, social security, and the welfare of its citizens. This is a permanent factor in social development under socialism and one of the manifestations of its humanitarian essence. This factor puts definite limits to the growth of current profitability of production as socialism rejects the capitalist methods of 'stimulating' workers (above all, unemployment as a means of pressuring workers), as well as excessive intensity of labour, which undermines workers' health. This factor is of great importance to man as it serves to create a special social atmosphere in society, marked by an attitude towards workers which sees them not only as the main productive force, but also as individuals whose welfare and development in the broad sense of the word are the main yardstick of social development. It is, in fact, one of the fundamental principles of socialism, which must always be taken into consideration when comparing the indicators of economic efficiency of socialist and capitalist production.

This in no sense implies any underestimation of the struggle for high economic efficiency of production,

which is accompanied by a harmonious combination of the principles of humanism and of rational economic management. The struggle for economic efficiency is being given more and more attention, socially acceptable methods for carrying on this struggle being carefully selected. Socialism cannot, nevertheless, exempt the worker from some, often burdensome, circumstances, such as, for instance, the need to learn a new trade, attendant on the changing type of production; reduction of the labour force at one enterprise or another, and so on. In such cases, however, everything is done to make it easier for the worker to adjust to these changes and to give him a stake in them.

3. Improvement of Socialist Management Methods

Whereas the capitalist economic mechanism serves the reproduction of capital, i.e., the process of the exploitation of workers, the socialist economic mechanism works for the implementation of the main economic law of socialism, i.e., expresses the interests of society as a whole. Whereas the functioning of the capitalist economic mechanism is based on pursuit of profit by each capitalist enterprise, a situation which systematically conflicts with the interests of national economic development at large, the functioning of the socialist economic mechanism serves the interests of the national economy as a whole. Whereas the capi-

talist economic mechanism is incapable of removing the contradiction between the efficient running of capitalist enterprises and anarchy in production on a national scale, the socialist economic mechanism translates into practice the opportunities for balanced development of the socialist economy as a whole. Whereas the capitalist economic mechanism keeps reproducing the contradictions of the capitalist economy and is unable to prevent their aggravation, which increasingly disrupts the capitalist economic system, the socialist economic mechanism is aimed at a conscious resolution of the non-antagonistic contradictions of the growth of the socialist economy, at its all-round consolidation.

The economic mechanism of socialist managing includes as its principal elements planning, regulation and promotion of the development of production. It is characterised above all by the following principles: —the scientific character of the planning and management of the national economy, consideration of the objective laws governing the development of nature and society; —the unity of politics and economics, a party approach to solving economic problems, which implies orientation towards social goals and criteria in running the economy; —implementation of national economic plans through plan assignments fixed by central state bodies and obligatory for enterprises and economic agencies, and through the use of economic levers; —democratic centralism in running the national eco-

nomy, combining centralised management and the initiative of local bodies and enterprises.

In the course of the improvement of the economic mechanism in the socialist countries, these basic principles are, as a rule, translated into practice more and more consistently. Simultaneously one should remember that the improvement of planning and management is a complicated process which involves finding the most rational solutions. As it is not always the case that such solutions can be found at once, experiments often have to be staged to test different variants of possible solutions. The solutions which prove inadequate have to be given up and more expedient ones found instead.

In improving national economic planning and management, the socialist countries deal with the problems of (1) making the state plans and the entire system of the organisation of production give a more adequate expression to the interests—both current and especially long-term—of the further socio-economic development of society and the individual; (2) achieving a more effective material and moral stimulation of production; and (3) more closely and consistently coordinating the interests of society, the work collective, and each worker by perfecting the criteria of both collective and individual performance, still further orientating the economy towards the satisfaction of citizens' needs, and so on.

Although the forms and methods of planning, management and stimulation of production in socialist countries are not uniform, the general major lines of

the process are already clear today. The first point is *raising the scientific standards of centralised state planning*. This implies a more detailed elaboration of the goals and targets of national economic development, a more complete appreciation of socio-economic as well as technical-economic problems, and scientific grounding of the optimal rates and proportions of national economic growth, such as would ensure the comprehensive development of the economy, its balanced character, and thorough coordination of the growth of production and the growth of consumption.

This simultaneously serves to improve all aspects of planning, better account being taken of real social needs. It helps to make planning more flexible and responsive to changing conditions.

Essential importance attaches to extending the time horizon of planning. Long-range plans of social and economic development up to 1990-2000 are being prepared in the CMEA countries at present. Planning based on special-purpose programmes is becoming widespread. It consists in the drafting of integrated programmes for dealing with major national economic problems.

Simultaneously the task is posed of ensuring continuity of planning, so that after each year of the current five-year plan, the planned period be extended accordingly. A special role in making the plans better substantiated is assigned to scientific forecasting.

Improvement in planning also includes the working out and introduction of new plan indicators orientating enterprises to a greater extent towards making

production more efficient and improving quality. The CMEA countries, for example, no longer use gross output as the yardstick of performance, having replaced it with indicators which more exactly show the results of production (output sold and net output) and which they continue to improve.

The second point is *improvement of the methods of fulfilling plans and mobilising additional reserves for the growth of production*. The socialist countries consider it necessary to ensure a more consistent and organic combination of methods of planned centralised management and methods based on the use of material incentives and cost levers. The task set in this connection at the present stage is to put more enterprises on a self-supporting basis and to use more material incentives—combining them with moral stimuli—for greater labour productivity, raw material saving, and so on. These tasks are dealt with by (a) increasing the role of economic efficiency criteria in the planning and management of production, and in appraising the performance of individual and amalgamated enterprises; (b) promoting self-supporting enterprises, substantially raising, in particular, the proportion of their own assets and credit in financing investments; (c) bringing into closer relation the profit (or gross income) and the different funds (especially the incentive bonus fund) of an enterprise; (d) introducing different forms of payment to be made by enterprises, such as payment for production assets, for the use of land, and so on; (e) improving the system of prices by bringing them closer to value

and achieving greater flexibility of price formation; (f) improving the wage and bonus systems.

On this basis, the material and moral incentives to perform good work become more effective, which is conducive to the growth of the social and production activity of the working people. The system of economic incentive levers becomes more effective.

The third point is that of *improving the organisational pattern of production*. The aim here is to achieve a rational concentration of resources, bring management closer to production, and implement integrated programmes of socio-economic development. The main way in which the organisational pattern of production is improved is, at the present stage, by setting up production amalgamations as the main self-supporting units of social production, and agrarian-industrial complexes.

The fourth point is the *utilisation of moral and political factors for the advancement of the socialist economy*. The climate of social optimism and labour enthusiasm at socialist enterprises is ensured by the development of socialist emulation, the movement for producing output over and above the plan, and other patriotic initiatives.

The fifth point consists in *applying mathematical-economical methods and electronic computers in planning and management*. Thanks to mathematical-economical methods and computers, the CMEA countries are putting the implementation of the principles of socialist organisation of social labour (planning, accounting, control, etc.) on a new scientific and

technological foundation. This helps more fully to put into practice the advantages stemming from the socialisation of production on a national scale.

The communist and workers' parties in the socialist countries attach particular significance to the elaboration and implementation of the strategic conceptions of economic development, which ensure that the objective requirements of economic growth are met in good time.

The elaboration of a strategy of social and economic development has acquired exceptional significance in ensuring the further upsurge of the socialist economies. The long-term aims of their socio-economic policy determine the character of the measures they undertake to improve the mechanism of socialist economic management. As for the aims themselves, they are determined on the basis of a more detailed analysis of the available possibilities and urgent requirements of social and economic development. At the same time, great significance attaches to the employment of such forms and methods of economic management which are the most efficacious with respect to the tasks at hand and in the concrete circumstances of each country. From this follows combined improvement of the economic mechanism and elaboration of strategic objectives.

The comprehensive measures taken to improve national economic planning and management preclude imbalances in the economy in the course of carrying out economic manoeuvres and conducting an active and flexible economic policy.

These measures show the growing role of the creative efforts of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries to enrich and perfect the forms and methods of guiding social development and realise more fully the advantages of the socialist economic system.

New forms and methods of economic planning and management are elaborated and applied differently in different countries. This is due to their concrete conditions and national experience and appraisal of the advisability of these various forms and methods.

At present, one can note, in the main, the following differences in the scope, forms and methods of the work being done to improve socialist managing in different countries, viz., differences in the correlation of methods of centralised planned management of the economy and methods based on the use of economic levers; differences in the number of plan indicators fixed for enterprises on a centralised basis, in the number of central plan balances drawn up, and so on; differences in the concrete indicators on which the use of economic levers is based.

The prerequisites of greater uniformity in dealing with these concrete issues of planning and management are shaping up gradually as the conditions of economic management in different countries grow more similar, in the first place owing to the levelling up of the economic and social development of individual countries, and differences in the appraisal of certain forms and methods are eliminated as the lat-

ter are tested in practice. This does not obviate, of course, the need to take into account the distinctiveness of the socio-economic situation in each individual country, which will persist for a long time yet. The rather broad range of economic experiments under way in the CMEA countries serves, in the final analysis, to find the most expedient forms and methods of implementing the general laws of socialist economic management.

Today we can draw the conclusion that the socialist community countries have an increasingly common approach not only to the key problems of socialist economic management, but also to concrete matters of economic-political practice. This convergence of practice in individual countries is fully in order and will be an important feature of their long-term development, certainly in step with the degree which the most rational forms and methods are elicited.

At the present stage, conditions in no CMEA country are so distinctive as to objectively call for a sharp difference in the forms of realisation of the common principles of socialist economic management. And with the accumulation and mutual exchange of experience, the most rational forms and methods—still with due account, of course, of each country's specific conditions—will be internationalised. This is the general developmental trend, but naturally it does not mean that there is no longer any need to go on looking together for such methods and forms.

Restructuring the system of economic planning and management is a long and difficult process. Neverthe-

less, current practice suggests the following conclusions:

—sufficient experience has been accumulated to enable us to judge whether certain economic levers are acceptable and to what extent they are effective, as well as to see what conditions must be present for their rational use;

—a better adjustment of the pattern of production to the real requirements of society is being ensured (especially by extending the selection of goods and improving their quality); sales of output have become faster, and some sectors of the economy are in a fair way to eliminate shortages and ensure the most rational use of reserves;

—more is being done to raise the efficiency of investment and labour productivity, and so on.

The communist and workers' parties of the CMEA countries appreciate the complexity of the problems arising in the course of the improvement of the mechanism of socialist economic management. It was found, for instance, that some economic levers, which had been expected to promote efficiency, were not so very effective. In a number of instances, the system of material incentives failed to ensure a good enough ratio between the growth rates of labour productivity and of wages.

In view of this, some countries in recent years have increased the role of national economic balances, physical indicators of the performance of enterprises, etc. Simultaneously work is being continued on elaborating a more perfect system of economic norms

and levers of material encouragement. Particular attention is being paid to evolving more effective methods of speeding up the progress of science and technology, encouraging enterprises to draw up intensive plans, and stimulating efforts to increase efficiency and save labour. Proceeding from the general principles underlying the functioning of the socialist economy, the CMEA countries are trying to make economic management more effective, developing the economic functions of the socialist state on the basis of democratic centralism, economic planning, and broader use of profit-and-loss levers.

In this connection it is highly important to determine the place and role of profit in the system of objectives and levers of socialist management. Profit under socialism is not an end in itself, as the economy is oriented towards the solution of social problems. While it is an essential indicator of the performance of an enterprise and of how efficiently productive resources are used, profit plays second fiddle to considerations of economic expediency and the requirements of long-term social development. It is also important, if the advantages of socialism are to be brought into play, that the conditions under which profit can be secured be so regulated by the central bodies as to make profit reflect the authentic and economically justifiable efforts of an enterprise to make the most of the resources placed at its disposal by society.

One comes across allegations in the bourgeois press that the improvement of the mechanism of economic management in the socialist countries means

that they are borrowing capitalist economic methods, and that this is to be seen as 'convergence' of the two opposite socio-economic systems. This interpretation results from a lack of understanding on the part of some bourgeois writers and the desire of others to garble the essence of the changes occurring in the mechanism of economic management in the socialist countries. These changes are aimed at raising, by socialist methods, the efficiency of planned management of the economy and at making fuller use of the reserves of production.

Bourgeois ideologists also allege that centralised regulation of the economy by the state restricts the initiative of enterprises and makes it more difficult to raise the efficiency of production. Experience shows, however, that nothing but centralised management can meet society's interests in the economy, link them with the interests of enterprises and workers, and observe the criteria of economic expediency. Based on the principle of democratic centralism, socialist economic management provides conditions for the development of enterprises' initiative, which manifests itself in their participation in drawing up plans and bringing to light reserves for perfecting production, in social planning of the development of their work force, and so on.

Building the mechanism of socialist economic integration occupies a special place in the CMEA countries' efforts to improve methods of socialist economic management.¹

¹ See Chapter VII.

A wealth of collective experience in the improvement of the socialist economic mechanism is being accumulated. Its study and creative application promote the further development of social relations and productive forces in the socialist countries.

4. *Growth of Social Production*

Socialist organisation of social production and the development of the socialist economies are typified by high and stable growth rates in production and the latter's increasing contribution to the improvement of the people's living standards.

Socialism has proved its ability to overcome, within the span of one generation, the centuries-old historical backwardness inherited from the old social system and solve many vital social problems which remain unsolved under capitalism. Furthermore, socialism has proved its ability to transform, in a historically brief time, the face even of those countries which never entered the age of capitalist development.

To assess correctly the scope of the changes that took place in the course of building socialism, one must remember that some countries in which the socialist revolution triumphed were economically backward. Their salient characteristics were high mortality, high unemployment, agrarian overpopulation, illiteracy, and forced emigration of working people in search of jobs elsewhere. Although there were among the countries which have embarked on a socialist path also such as had attained under capitalism a re-

latively high economic level, they too had to cope with considerable difficulties associated with the consequences of the Second World War, lopsided economic development inherited from capitalism, and social problems.

What made it still more difficult to embark on the path of social progress was that the socialist countries, besides the consequences of the war, also had to cope with imperialist economic blockade and cold war, and were obliged to devote means and efforts to strengthening their defences in the face of the military threat from imperialist reaction. Countries which have begun building a socialist society bypassing the capitalist stage have particularly complicated problems to cope with.

Overcoming all these obstacles, socialism has ensured the rapid development of social production. The strides made, for instance, by the Soviet economy over the years of socialist construction are convincingly illustrated by the following figures. Per capita industrial output in pre-revolutionary Russia amounted to a little more than 40 per cent of the world average, and in 1922, as a result of the civil war and foreign armed intervention, it dropped to ten per cent of the world average. At present, however, per capita industrial output in the USSR is more than three times the world average. The scope of the economic tasks currently being dealt with in the USSR is evident from the fact that the increase alone in industrial output obtained in the USSR during the ninth five-year period (1971-75) equalled the total indu-

strial output produced in 1970 by Britain, France, the Netherlands, Belgium and Sweden put together.

The Soviet economy is distinguished by much higher growth rates than the industrialised capitalist countries. Cited below are data on the average annual rates of increase of the main indicators of economic growth in the Soviet Union and the United States between 1951 and 1976 (in per cent):

	USSR	USA
National income	8	3.4
Industrial output	9.4	4.2
Agricultural output	3.4	1.6
Freight turnover by all kinds of transport	8.1	2.2
Capital investment	9	2.6
Efficiency of social labour	6.8	2.3
Efficiency of labour in industry	6.1	3.5

Thanks to the faster growth rates of the Soviet economy, the correlation between the volume of production in the Soviet Union and that in the United States is steadily changing in favour of the Soviet Union. The changing relation between the economic potentials of the USSR and the USA for various indicators may be illustrated by the following data:

	USSR relative USA (per cent)	
National income	1950	31
	1965	59
	1970	over 65
	1976	67
Industrial output	1913*	12.5
	1950	under 30
	1965	62
	1970	over 75

(continued from p. 90)

	1976	over 80
Electric-power generation	1913*	8
	1985	41
	1970	43
	1976	51
Oil production (including gas condensate)	1913*	27
	1985	63
	1970	74
	1976	130
Steel production	1913*	15
	1985	75
	1970	95
	1976	121

* On the territory of the former Russian Empire.

Table 1 contains data on the growth of production in some socialist countries as compared with the pre-war period.

Table 1

Growth of Production in Some Socialist Countries in 1976 as Compared with the Prewar Period¹ (in per cent)

Country	Industrial output	Agricultural output	National income
Bulgaria	5,940	287	820
Czechoslovakia	950	135	410
GDR	750	...	...
Hungary	1,080	157	420
Poland	2,680	188	...
Romania	3,360	253	1,030
USSR	1,680	236	1,100

¹ Bulgaria as compared with 1939 (agricultural output as compared with the average annual figure over the period from 1932 to 1938); Czechoslovakia and the GDR as compared with 1937 and 1930 respectively; Hungary as compared with the annual average for the period from 1934 to 1938; Poland and Romania as compared with 1938; the USSR as compared with 1940.

It is worth noting that the socialist economy had demonstrated its dynamism and vitality not only in formerly backward countries, but also in those which had achieved a relatively high level of economic development under capitalism.

The industrial output of all socialist countries in 1976 was roughly 20 times that produced on their territory in 1937, as against a 5.5-fold growth in the capitalist countries. Between 1951 and 1976 industrial output increased 11.5-fold in the socialist countries, and merely 3.4-fold in the developed capitalist countries.

Owing to their faster growth rates, the socialist countries have come to account for a larger share of world output. In 1913, pre-revolutionary Russia accounted for just over four per cent of world industrial output, and now the Soviet Union accounts for one-fifth of it.

Whereas in 1950 the socialist countries accounted for about 20 per cent of world industrial output, in 1976 they accounted for over 40 per cent, the CMEA countries among them accounting for roughly one-third of world industrial output. The industrial output of the CMEA countries surpasses that of the EEC roughly twice, and of the USA, roughly by one-third.

Tables 2 and 3 contain data on the rates of growth of industrial output and national income in some socialist and capitalist countries since 1950.

Compared with 1948, the aggregate national income of the CMEA countries in 1976 increased 9.5-

Table 2

Growth of Industrial Output
(1950=100 per cent)

Country	Total			Per capita		
	1955	1970	1976	1955	1970	1976
Bulgaria	591	1,100	1,800	611	990	1,500
Czechoslovakia	364	505	734	318	437	610
GDR	392	537	775	422	578	849
Hungary	386	523	742	355	472	654
Mongolia	446	714	1,100	313	438	609
Poland	475	708	1,200	375	538	935
Romania	649	1,000	2,200	556	917	1,700
USSR	458	689	900	357	511	726
DPRK*	1,100	2,000	5,200	900	1,400	3,100
SRV**	850	900	1,400	677	560	822***
Yugoslavia	435	586	893	366	470	677
Great Britain	160	177	180	148	160	161
France	228	296	367	195	243	287
FRG	319	426	480	271	348	386
Italy	328	465	555	295	405	462
USA	200	240	289	157	178	205

* 1949=100 per cent

** 1955=100 per cent on the territory of North Vietnam

*** In 1975

fold, and in the developed capitalist countries, merely 3.3-fold.

Table 4 contains combined data on the dynamics of industrial output in the socialist and other countries.

Noting the superiority of the socialist over the capitalist countries in economic growth rates, we must bear in mind the following two points.

Table 3

Growth of National Income
(1950=100 per cent)

Country	Total			Per capita		
	1955	1970	1976	1955	1970	1976
Bulgaria	391	593	926	346	506	766
Czechoslovakia	228	318	436	199	275	362
GDR	310	400	541	335	431	592
Hungary	216	300	418	199	271	368
Poland	280	374	635	220	283	459
Romania	413	599	1,000	354	482	858
USSR	384	528	732	284	392	513
Yugoslavia*	272	359	494	235	296	384
Great Britain	152	171	190	141	155	170
France	206	271	343	176	222	269
FRG	278	350	403	232	286	324
Italy	225	300	348	202	261	290
USA	174	202	237	135	149	167

* 1952=100 per cent

First, a simple comparison of growth rates is not enough to estimate the possibilities of the two economic systems. It is necessary to take into account the social goals and analyse the prospects of economic development, different factors of economic growth, and the degree to which they are utilised. The rates of growth of the socialist economies inevitably change under the impact of changes in the manpower balance, in the course of passing from one stage of the restructuring of the economy and scientific and technological progress to another. What is very impor-

tant here is that socialism, as opposed to capitalism, can use the available possibilities and sources of economic growth more fully and efficiently, and can

Table 4

Growth of Industrial Output in the Socialist Countries
and the Rest of the World
(1950=100 per cent)

Year	The World	The socialist countries	The other countries	including the developed capitalist countries
1950	100	100	100	100
1955	147	191	135	132
1960	206	354	167	162
1965	285	501	227	218
1970	388	723	298	284
1976	534	1,050	370	332
Annual average rate of growth from 1951 to 1976 (per cent)	6.6	9.8	5.2	4.7

maintain growth at a rate corresponding to these objective possibilities. It is equally significant that socialism invariably—for such is its inherent tendency—concerns itself with the solution of social problems, with raising the people's living standards as the material conditions are provided for this. Capitalism is characterised not only by underutilisation of the national economic resources. Under capitalism, econom-

ic growth is achieved at the cost of aggravating social problems, and violating the rights and interests of the working people.

Second, it must be stressed that, thanks to the new social relations and a better utilisation of resources, thanks to the observance of the principles of social justice in the distribution of goods, socialism has proved able—even with a smaller national income and per capita national wealth than in developed capitalist countries—to ensure better living conditions for the broadest mass of the people by more evenly distributing material goods, according such social guarantees to citizens as are impossible under capitalism, and establishing new social relations that are pervaded with humanism and make people socially and psychologically satisfied with their position in society.

At the present stage of development of the socialist community countries in which a mature socialist society is being built and perfected, specific type of expanded socialist reproduction adequate to this society is being formed.

The process of reproduction in the developed socialist economy is socially uniform, for the socialist economic system becomes all-comprehensive and, in fact, the only one. Simultaneously, such features become clearly evident as the substantial approximation to each other of enterprises associated with two different kinds of socialist property, and the gradual interlacing of these two kinds of property, especially in agrarian-industrial complexes, as well as a high

degree of socialisation of social production as a whole and a corresponding enhancement of the immediately social character of labour and of the balanced development of social production.

The character of reproduction is also determined by the productive potential of society, which increased many times over in the course of building socialism. The upsurge of the productive forces makes it possible to tackle the problems of social and economic development more comprehensively.

In most of the socialist economies at the present stage the emphasis is being shifted to intensive growth factors. The economic policy is to intensify reproduction, i. e., to expand the scale of production above all through a more efficient utilisation of material factors, rather than through their quantitative growth. This is expressed in the increased share of national income obtained through more efficient expenditure of social labour. The policy of intensifying reproduction certainly does not mean that no additional resources are involved in production within reasonable limits, but presupposes an accelerated growth in the efficiency of production.

It must be stressed that intensification under socialism has nothing in common with the capitalist methods of 'rationalising' production and intensifying labour, which are accompanied by growing unemployment.

One salient feature of the CMEA economies is that they provide full employment. Full employment is an immense advantage offered by socialism. It has

become part of the way of life in the countries which have built socialism. Where nobody can live on the exploitation of others, and labour is both a right and a duty, all able-bodied members of society work. This is not to say that absolutely all able-bodied men and women work at enterprises and other establishments. Engaged in social production is the whole of the able-bodied population except those who are studying or engaged in housekeeping or maintaining subsidiary small holdings (mainly on account of rearing children in the family). Thus, the notion of full employment implies that all able-bodied persons take part in socially useful work, but this participation may be of different kinds. Currently, in the CMEA countries taken as a whole, more than 85 per cent of the working-age population is engaged in social production, and, counting students, this proportion amounts to upwards of 90 per cent. The rest of the working-age population—less than 10 per cent—is engaged in socially useful work outside of the socially organised sphere, in their homes or subsidiary small holdings. They are almost exclusively women, usually with children to look after. In the countries which have built socialism, there have long been no persons who do not work because society cannot provide jobs for them, and who cannot earn their living on that account. Socialism has proved in practice that it is capable of providing as many jobs as there are able-bodied citizens who must find application for their energies in the national economy.

The socialist countries have attained notable su-

periority over the developed capitalist countries in the extent to which employment in production is provided for the population.

Bourgeois economists do not really attempt to dispute the fact that there is full employment in the socialist countries, a fact all the more significant now that life has dispelled the illusion, which was widespread in the capitalist world in the 1960s, that full employment was possible there. Nevertheless, bourgeois economists often try to find fault with the guaranteed right to work in the socialist countries, artificially opposing full employment and effectual employment. This is an attempt to reprove socialism for failing to use unemployment as a means of putting pressure on workers, for not excluding a part of society's labour force from production so as to boost the efficiency of those engaged in it.

However that may be, it does not make sense to oppose full and effectual employment. Socialist society proceeds from the premise that full employment is the key to the expedient utilisation of the national manpower potential, indispensable to realising every possibility of economic growth.

One of the main principles and objectives of socialist planned economic management is the systematic 'reproduction' of full employment. This concern is fully in order. Society never stands still: the demographic situation changes, the sectoral pattern of production undergoes improvement, mechanisation of labour increases, the territorial distribution of the productive forces alters. It would therefore be wrong

to think that after unemployment was abolished—as it was by the early 1930s in the Soviet Union and in the early 1950s in the European CMEA countries—the question of jobs could be left to take care of itself. In order to ensure the right to work, planning and other economic agencies had to do much systematic work. As a result, new jobs were created at a rate sufficient to deal with agrarian overpopulation, allow millions of former housewives to work in industry, and guarantee employment for young people.

The great scope of the work that was done to provide jobs for all can be seen, among other things, in the fact that in the period following the war the active population in the CMEA countries increased roughly four—and in the period from 1961 to 1970, as much as ten—times faster than in the EEC countries. In Poland, for example, two million jobs were created between 1971 and 1975. The number of those engaged in the national economy in the CMEA countries increased at a rate greatly exceeding the rate of growth of the able-bodied population. As a result, the employment rate rapidly increased, so that in many CMEA countries it has by now practically approached the highest attainable level, as the potential manpower reserves among the able-bodied population have practically been exhausted. This refers to the female as well as male population. Female employment is much higher in the CMEA countries than it is in the developed capitalist countries. In most CMEA countries women account for half, or almost

half, of all industrial, professional and office workers, and in the developed capitalist countries, for a little over one-third or even less.

Owing to the exhaustion of manpower reserves, the increase in the number of those engaged in the economy is limited more and more to the increase in the population reaching the age of entrance into active life. And in the next few years in the majority of the CMEA countries the number of young people reaching this age will be considerably smaller than it was in the 1960s and early 1970s, as those now entering working age were born at a time when the birth rate fell considerably compared with the postwar peak. In view of rapid economic growth, the policy of expanding production, and the appearance of new branches and lines of production, this manpower situation means that the shortage of labour power which was felt in many CMEA countries before now will increase.

How should this shortage be viewed? On the one hand, it is evidence of the dynamism of the economy, of society's ability to create more and more jobs. It is also an asset in the sense that it provides an incentive for the further mechanisation of production and improvement of working conditions. On the other hand, one cannot hide the fact that this shortage is reaching—or may reach—the dimensions of a serious economic disproportion, resulting in understaffing and underutilisation of equipment. Thus, the socialist countries are faced with the problem of ensuring a better balance between the number of work-

ers and the number of jobs. Nevertheless, in contrast to the case under capitalism, it is a problem of a shortage of labour, not one of unemployment. It is being solved in two ways. First, the CMEA countries are more and more often finding it expedient to alter the relation between investments in the construction of new enterprises and in the modernisation of old enterprises, with a view to reducing the share of new construction and increasing the share of expenditures for modernisation and reconstruction. Thus the further expansion of the scale of production will call for a smaller growth in the number of workers. Second, the CMEA countries are paying increasing attention to a more rational utilisation of manpower. This is achieved not only by modernising and better equipping enterprises, as was mentioned above, but also by improving the organisation of labour, introducing more effective systems of material incentives and moral stimuli to perform good work, and so on. CMEA experts have estimated that by improving the organisation of labour and material and technical supply, and tightening labour discipline, many enterprises could fulfil their production plans with a smaller labour force. In order to put the released workers to better use, different measures are effected, with due account of the interests of the working people. The main principle on which these measures are based is that of maintaining full employment and precluding any difficulties in finding jobs.

The experience of the CMEA countries shows that socialism ensures not only full employment, but

also the ever more effective utilisation of society's labour potential. Table 5 contains figures on the dynamics of labour productivity in the industry of some countries.

Table 5

Growth of Labour Productivity per Worker
in Industry
(1950=100 per cent)

Country	1965	1970	1976
Bulgaria	264	367	545
Czechoslovakia	238	309	433
GDR	291	388	530
Hungary	205	243	343
Mongolia	154	216	310
Poland	262	334	531
Romania	343	488	725
USSR	256	338	467
Great Britain	144	164	191
France	193	255	317
FRG	192	251	329
Italy	293	385	437
USA	173	194	242

The average productivity of labour in industry in the CMEA countries is about 30 per cent higher than in the EEG countries, but it is considerably lower than the US level, amounting to just a little more than 50 per cent of it. The relation of levels of productivity of social labour in the national economy is less favourable to the CMEA countries owing to their

notable lag in labour productivity in agriculture and the fact that it accounts for a high proportion of those engaged in the national economy. The average level of productivity of social labour in the CMEA countries is about 75 per cent that in the EEC countries and about a third that in the United States. Simultaneously, it surpasses by one-third the level of productivity of social labour in Japan.

Nevertheless, in considering the relation between the levels of efficiency of production in the socialist and the capitalist countries, one should take into account not only technical and economic factors, but social ones as well, above all the fundamental difference in the aims of economic activity, a difference which lies in the incompatibility of the criterion of capitalist profit and that of the ever fuller satisfaction of the needs of socialist society.

Subordinating socialist production to the satisfaction of society's needs may, at the current stage, limit in some respects the possibilities of securing a high return on expenditures of living and materialised labour as compared with capitalist production, since capitalism, in its pursuit of profit, does not stop short, for instance, at excessive intensification of labour, and so on. Socialism, at the same time, creates immeasurably stronger factors contributing to the higher efficiency of the economy both with respect to the relations of production (correspondence of the aims of development of social production with the interests of the working people, identity of interests of the organisers

of production and the producers) and the productive forces (above all, the development of the individual, of his creative potentialities). The effect of these factors is manifested gradually, stage by stage, and depends largely on the level to which the material and technical foundations of society are developed, as well as on the degree of maturity attained by the social organisation of production.

The growth of accumulation is an important factor of socialist economic development. A high capacity for accumulation is the hallmark of a thriving economy. In the CMEA countries today a higher propor-

Table 6

Investment Growth
(1950=100 per cent)

Country	1955	1970	1976
Bulgaria	589	1,061	1,648
Czechoslovakia	326	461	720
GDR	569	911	1,188
Hungary	253	438	619
Mongolia	1,983	2,584	6,333
Poland	360	531	1,270
Romania	748	1,269	2,364
USSR	445	641	938
Yugoslavia	289	430	593
Great Britain	230	275	278
Canada	232	270	376
France	274	393	480
FRG	354	442	442
Italy	275	391	370
USA	179	190	196

tion of national income goes to accumulation than in any of the previous relatively long periods. In the past few years, the share of accumulation in the consumed national income of the CMEA countries in the aggregate amounted to about 27-28 per cent (about 29 per cent in the USSR and Hungary). The high rate of growth in investments in the socialist countries is shown in Table 6.

Today in many CMEA countries further substantial increases in the share of accumulation are considered inexpedient. In the Soviet Union, for example, plans are being drawn up to reduce somewhat the share of accumulation in the national income. As a result of this measure, the overall accumulation fund can no longer increase faster than national income. Simultaneously, even at the same rate of growth of national income, the consumption fund can be made to grow faster than in the preceding period, when the share of accumulation in the national income increased.

The diminishing volume of accumulation consumed in social production, characteristic of an advanced stage of economic development, implies the appearance of positive new features in the national economy, such as, above all, the greater effect of incentives to make better use of resources and, consequently, to raise the efficiency of social production. Simultaneously, it spells the elimination of some specific factors which were typical of the period of particularly rapid expansion of the volume of resources consumed and which had an adverse effect on

economic development. We have in mind the mass influx into the economy of unskilled workers, the wide prevalence of imperfect methods of training workers on the job, imbalances and scarcities, and so on. In the immediate future, for instance, since fewer workers are joining the national labour force, less will have to be expended on the provision of new jobs. Accordingly, there will be more opportunity to improve the technical furnishings of existing enterprises and to speed up the growth of labour productivity.

At the same time, there are opportunities in production still waiting to be used: there is underexploitation of capacity; raw material, fuel and materials are not always used efficiently; the volume of uncompleted construction is excessively large.

The tendency towards growth in the capital-output ratio in industry and the economy at large, and the unfavourable dynamics of the efficiency of investments that have been observable in some countries since the early 1960s were due to a certain extent to the objective features of the present stage of technological development in the CMEA countries; partly, they were caused by structural changes, and so on.

The high capital-output ratio in production is also objectively due to changes in the distribution of the productive forces (e.g., the development of the Soviet North and East); the need to start working poorer mineral deposits or such as are difficult of access; the development of certain capital-intensive branches of the mining and fuel-and-power industries corresponding to the scale of the expansion of production;

comprehensive mechanisation of labour in agriculture and of auxiliary production processes in industry, and so on.

Often enough, concealed behind the statistics indicating a growth in the capital-output ratio are palpable improvements, such as better working conditions, a lower materials-output ratio, lower cost and higher profitability of production. Often, too, by means of additional investment major social tasks are accomplished. For example, the new industrial centres in the USSR—in the Urals, Western Siberia, the Far East, Kazakhstan and the North—are being established and developed in accordance with integrated programmes which are much broader than building programmes proper in that they also contain a set of measures to improve the living standards of the population.

The steady advance of the economy in socialist society presents a vivid contrast to the economic situation in the capitalist world. The CMEA countries are characterised by stable rates of production growth. Over the past fifteen years the aggregate volume of industrial output in the CMEA countries increased by almost 50 per cent every five years. In contrast, the accretion in industrial output in the developed capitalist countries between 1971 and 1975 amounted to 71.5 per cent of the 1961-65 figure.

The growth of national income in the CMEA countries was also fairly uniform, although over various five-year periods it varied to a greater extent than that of industrial output. The increase in the

aggregate income of the CMEA member countries in each of the last three five-year periods amounted to from one-third to two-fifths. In the developed capitalist countries, the accretion in the national income between 1971 and 1975 amounted to 50 per cent of the 1961-65 figure. In spite of the fact that agriculture in the CMEA countries is still greatly subject to weather influence and the dynamics of agricultural production are unstable, their volume of agricultural output increased from one five-year period to another, and faster at that, than in the EEG countries. Between 1971 and 1975, the CMEA countries produced altogether 14 per cent more agricultural output than in between 1966 and 1970.

Of no small importance in the appraisal of economic growth is also the degree of stability of the annual rates of production expansion. Here too, there is a great difference between the socialist and capitalist economies. A highly even economic growth from year to year is characteristic both of the CMEA countries as a whole and of each of them separately. This, too, is an important distinctive feature of the economy of the CMEA countries, especially obvious against the background of cyclic economic development in the capitalist countries. In 1975, for example, the developed capitalist economies were characterised by an almost absolute reduction of industrial production (by 7 per cent against 1974).

For the forthcoming period, the CMEA countries have again planned stable and relatively high rates of production expansion. They have seen to it that

while stable growth is ensured, the excessive strain which could result from intensive development plans is precluded.

In addition, they have taken into account, first, new developments in the economic situation, viz., the growing shortage of labour, the higher cost of recovery of natural raw materials and fuel, and the dynamics of prices on the world markets. Second, in planning their economic growth, the CMEA countries pay particular attention to raising the economic effectiveness of production and the quality of products. This does not always find reflection in an increase in output, but permits, nevertheless, a better satisfaction of consumers' needs. Third, the CMEA countries have set themselves new goals in the social sphere, which require big non-production outlays. In this connection, for example, it has been planned in the Soviet Union to increase somewhat the share of the consumption fund in the national income.

The CMEA member countries firmly retain their position as the world's most dynamic economic area. Taking into account the stable, high economic growth rates in the CMEA countries, on the one hand, and the difficulties experienced by the developed capitalist countries as they try to emerge from the economic crisis, and the rather pessimistic economic forecasts for the capitalist system published in the West, on the other, we can conclude that the superiority of the CMEA member countries as far as economic growth rates are concerned will remain substantial in the future, too.

It is especially worth noting that in the CMEA countries more attention will be paid now to making production more efficient and to intensifying it. Tasks have been set with respect to a more rational employment of labour and material resources. Increases in national income and industrial output will be, as a rule, secured to a greater extent than previously through raising labour productivity, while the role of growth in the number of workers will decrease. A particularly important task is to improve the use of investments. All this shows that production is being intensified, not through any excessive intensification of labour, but through a more intelligent employment of resources, preventing the scattering of investments over numerous projects, dragging out of construction, underloading of expensive equipment, and so on.

Economic development problems in the socialist community countries are of great scope and complexity. It will take much effort to solve them. This is only natural, since the tasks socialist society sets itself express the need to advance rapidly towards a high level of material security for all members of society without exception, and towards providing conditions for the free and all-round development of the individual. In order to advance successfully along this path, pioneering decisions, bold creativity and the ability to overcome obstacles are necessary. Today the peoples of the socialist community countries have all the essential conditions for further rapid social and economic progress.

Of key significance in this respect is the spread of

the technological revolution. The latter is the result of the progress of world science. In this age, however, the world is divided into two opposite social systems. Their contribution to the development of world science, the scale and rate of revolutionary changes in the technology of production, and especially the nature of their social effects are important yardsticks by which the viability of these systems is measured.

The CMEA countries, most of which, before the establishment of people's rule, were economically decades behind the industrialised capitalist countries, demonstrate the advantages offered by socialism as a world system, among other things, by embarking on the technological revolution practically simultaneously with these capitalist countries, in the same historical period. The industrial revolution, however, which resulted at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries in the emergence of machines and large-scale industry in a number of capitalist countries advanced at that time, spread to the majority of the now socialist countries approximately a century later. Besides, in many of these countries the massive transition to mechanised labour was effected, in fact, only under people's rule.

The socialist countries today take an equal part in the world exchange of scientific and technological achievements. They have quickly built up their own scientific and technological potential, moving into the forefront of scientific and technological development and defining in some fields the highest level in the world. This of course does not imply any under-

estimation of the indisputable advances made by science and technology in the capitalist world. The socialist countries advocate a systematic, mutually advantageous exchange of scientific information and of technological innovations, and creative contacts and cooperation among specialists from countries with different social systems. It is as normal and useful for the socialist countries to apply the scientific discoveries of the capitalist countries as it is for the capitalist countries to be informed, on a mutually advantageous basis, of the socialist countries' achievements in science and technology. Such exchanges, however, have been made possible precisely by the fact that the highly industrialised imperialist countries no longer have a monopoly of science and technology.

While the socialist community today does not lead in absolutely all areas of the scientific and technological revolution, it nevertheless plays a pioneering role in some of them and, on the whole, co-determines the progress of world science, engineering and production together with the most economically advanced capitalist countries. This is seen from the successes scored by the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries in space exploration, the joint launching of sputniks by some socialist countries, the advances in the peaceful uses of atomic energy, the construction of mammoth hydroelectric and thermal power stations in the Soviet Union, and other scientific and technological achievements of the socialist countries. Take, for instance, the atomic power industry, which is working a real

revolution in power generation. The first atomic power stations in the world were constructed and put into operation in the Soviet Union. Soviet science leads in the development of the problem of thermonuclear reaction control, a problem with which major scientific forces are concerned in a number of countries across the world.

The number of scientists is growing much faster in the CMEA countries than in the United States or Western Europe. Working in the CMEA countries are a third of all scientists in the world, i.e., these countries' share of the total number of scientists in the world is more than triple their share of the world population.

The technological revolution is becoming the main arena of the race between the two world systems. Gripped in the vice of internal and external antagonisms, the imperialists pin their hopes on the worldwide technological revolution which they seek to use for their own ends. They strive to make technological progress serve their aim of intensifying the exploitation of labour, recarving the world markets, and so on, expecting advanced production to supply them with the means of moderating the most acute class antagonisms and reducing the intensity of the masses' economic and political struggle against monopoly rule. The technological revolution does not, however, strengthen capitalism, but, on the contrary, further aggravates all its conflicts, sapping its very foundations. It becomes more and more obvious that capitalism is incapable of providing the social condi-

tions in which the productive forces can develop rapidly.

In contrast, in socialist society the technological revolution serves to bring into full play the advantages of the social organisation of production that are inherent in socialism. It provides fresh opportunities for an upsurge of the productive forces and for more rapid social progress. The socialist relations of production make it possible to solve in the interests of man those socio-economic problems which arise in the course of the technological revolution.

The communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries consistently pursue a policy of plan-regulated development of the technological revolution in contrast to its spontaneous development in the capitalist world. This balanced development constitutes an advantage of socialism, owing to which a sweeping technical reconstruction of social production can be carried out in a historically short time with the greatest economic effect, and with full consideration of every social aspect of the intricate processes of developing essentially new productive forces.

The CMEA countries are elaborating a conception of the long-range development of science and technology, which, constantly renewed and improved, will provide the basis for long-range and five-year plans. Thus, in the USSR an integrated programme of scientific and technological progress up to the years 1990-2000 with account for social effects is being worked out.

The technological revolution enables the socialist

countries to carry into practice even more fully their possibilities for balanced, proportionate development. On the basis of the latest results of science and technology, the socialist countries do much to improve the economic planning of socialist expanded reproduction, extensively applying scientific forecasting.

Now on the agenda is the gradual, thorough transformation of the material and technical foundations and pattern of social production, and the massive technical re-equipment of labour, using the latest achievements of science and technology.

The tasks linked with the implementation of the technological revolution are being dealt with taking into account the need to ensure a proper balance in the national economy.

The task of integrally combining the results of the technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system is being tackled more and more fully in the socialist countries. The building and perfection of developed socialism is based on an ever greater application of the achievements scored by science and technology to expand and raise the efficiency of production. The scientific and technological revolution, which enjoys the most favourable social conditions for its realisation under socialism, simultaneously leads to the improvement of these very conditions. Thus, national planning, accounting and control can be put on a new scientific and technical basis, allowing for fuller use of the advantages that accrue from socialisation of production on a national scale. The changed role of the worker in production

makes it possible to develop and use more extensively the social conditions of socialism favouring the growth of man's creative potentialities.

The upsurge of the productive forces in the course of the technological revolution gradually creates the prerequisites of a faster solution of the cardinal social problems involved in the building of communism, viz., the elimination of essential differences between manual and brain workers, and between town and country; attainment of a level of consumption of material goods corresponding to reasonable, scientifically founded standards; provision of the conditions for the gradual transition to the communist principle of distribution, and so on.

The realisation of the advantages of the socialist economy is accelerated in many respects owing to more extensive socialist economic integration.

The socialist community is increasingly availing itself of the progressive global tendencies towards the development of productive forces which call for economic consolidation. These tendencies are realised in the socialist community on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, socialist internationalism, full equality, respect for the sovereignty of each country, non-interference in other countries' internal affairs, mutual advantage, and mutual assistance.

Now that economic cooperation between fraternal countries has entered a new and higher stage, the stage of socialist economic integration, increasing progress is being made in the plan-regulated process of speeding up the restructuring of national economic

proportions with due consideration of the opportunities for streamlining production on the basis of the international socialist division of labour and the international mobility of productive resources in the socialist community. The links between the sovereign socialist economies are being strengthened and their mutually complementary character is being intensified with a view to optimising the conditions for expanded reproduction within the community.

Coordinated and interlinked utilisation of the productive and technological potentialities of the fraternal countries extends the possibilities for accelerating the growth of the economic effectiveness of the socialist economy. The fraternal countries' mutual interest in developing the international mobility of productive resources is increasing. As these countries join their efforts, more rational economic proportions emerge in each of them. The plan-regulated formation and consolidation of the labour cooperation of the peoples of the socialist countries is a powerful factor in the economic development of each country and the world socialist economy as a whole.

The CMEA countries consistently provide and extend conditions allowing them to use more fully and effectively than the capitalist countries do factors promoting the upsurge of production and accelerating scientific and technological progress, engendered by closer cooperation between their national economies.

The economic development of the socialist countries is not separated from the world economy. These countries avail themselves of all progressive tendencies

in the world economy. Moreover, socialist economy has the advantage of being comparatively less vulnerable to the adverse tendencies obtaining in the world capitalist economy, such as economic crises, trade wars and inflation, although their influence cannot be entirely excluded. The upsurge of the socialist economies is, besides, an important stabilising factor in the economic development of the world as a whole. In the present circumstances, economic ties between the socialist and all other countries in the world are growing intensively. The socialist countries' participation in world economic relations has a beneficial effect on the world economy, and the expansion of mutually advantageous cooperation between these and all other countries serves to put international detente on an increasingly solid foundation.

Bourgeois ideologists in the economic field question above all the effectiveness of the employment of resources in the socialist economy. They claim that socialism has failed to establish a mechanism providing for the effective functioning of the economy, having deprived the latter of such stimuli as private ownership of the means of production, capitalist enterprise, competition, and profit. They ignore the fact that the capitalist incentives have never served the aims of society as a whole, that it was only in the earlier stages of capitalism's development that they promoted the upsurge of the productive forces, and that now they are petering out, intensifying the antagonistic contradictions of capitalism. Socialism, on the other hand, brings into being new driving forces of econom-

ic development, which are based on public ownership of the means of production and are fundamentally different from and more powerful than those found under capitalism. The advantages which socialism enjoys with respect to economic development stem from the centralised, planned regulation of the national economy, whereby resources can be concentrated so as to deal with major problems in conformity with the interests of society at large.

Socialism has wiped out many stimuli of a capitalist nature, viz., that of the capitalist entrepreneur to whom raising profitability is the only way to avoid bankruptcy; that of the small producer, who strives to go on in the teeth of competition; that of the worker, threatened with the loss of his job; that of anybody deprived of the means of subsistence and ready to work on any terms. Yet these very incentives and the social conditions from which they spring doom capitalism to acute social conflicts and cause resources to be used inexpediently or to be left unused, aggravating thereby the general crisis of capitalism. It is not fortuitous that a special kind of economic studies dealing with 'inefficiency factors', which include unemployment, monopoly stranglehold, etc, is arising in the United States. Nor should it be forgotten that the capitalist system breeds incentives counteracting its own development, that it gives rise to the strike movement and diverse forms of social protest. This is history's judgement on the capitalist 'incentives', which increasingly make society's main productive force, the workers, want to get rid of the

system that fathered them. It is not, therefore, only a question of how effective the incentives are, but also of how the masses perceive them, how far they correspond to their ideals, to their notions of social justice.

Having stamped out the narrow class 'incentives' which are rooted in exploitation and social inequality, socialism has created, and is perfecting, incentives effective for society as a whole and resting on workers' cooperation and solidarity, on the identity of interests of society and the individual, and on distribution according to work performed. These incentives are humane, they make the worker regard work as his public duty, and gradually form the totality of the driving forces underlying the upsurge of the economy.

It is worth noting that bourgeois ideologists no longer ignore socialism's successes in the economic race between the two systems. Granted, they still make 'reservations', aimed at glossing over the obvious connection between the successes scored by the socialist countries and their social system. One of these 'reservations' is, for instance, that the start of the rapid development of the Soviet economy dates back to tsarist Russia. Nevertheless, facts show that despite the industrial growth achieved at the start of the twentieth century, capitalist Russia kept lagging behind the United States. Russia's industrial output in the period from 1896 to 1900 was, on an average one-sixth that of the United States, one-seventh in the period from 1906 to 1910, and one-eighth in 1913.

As the building of socialism progressed, a contrary tendency emerged and took hold.

A comparison of the economic growth rates in the European socialist countries during the early five-year plan periods and the years of the most favourable economic situation in the prewar period shows that they doubled or even trebled.

The high growth rates of the principal socialist economic indicators are a commonly acknowledged fact. Some Western economists, however, claim that this growth is achieved for the most part with the help of extensive factors. So, Abram Bergson concludes that planned economies are somewhat more efficient in mobilising resources, but somewhat less efficient in using them. Let us take a closer look at this statement.

The socialist system was indeed capable of mobilising huge resources for economic development. The ability to accumulate large resources for investment is the hallmark of a sound economy. Before the establishment of people's government, economically backward countries remained so, among other things, because of a dearth of investments. Under socialism, parasitic consumption by the exploiting classes, capital outflow, inexpedient utilisation of investment, and so on, were all stopped. Thus the socialist countries were able to increase the share of production accumulation in the national income and simultaneously improve the position of the masses. Of course, a regime of strict economy had to be maintained, but by concentrating means in key sectors, the socialist

countries were able to industrialise quickly and end the economic lag. The socialist economies generally have a great capacity for accumulation. The annual volume of investments in the USSR at present surpasses that in the USA. In this connection, however, it should be recalled that some bourgeois ideologists contend that socialist countries' investments constitute an extremely high share of national income, thereby steeply restricting the growth of consumption. Actually, however, the socialist countries sharply differ in the share of accumulation in their national incomes only from those capitalist countries—e. g., the United States—which are developing more slowly economically than other capitalist countries. In those capitalist countries whose economic development in the postwar period went faster (West Germany and Japan), the share of accumulation in the national income was also higher. Thus, extensive sources were readily employed in the postwar period by many developed capitalist countries. So far, we have been speaking about capital investments. But the most signal achievement of the socialist system is full employment. In this respect capitalism has demonstrated its sheer incapacity to put the labour potential of society to effective use.

Still more essential is the fact that the socialist countries have already attained great success in making a more efficient use of resources. One notices this especially when analysing the efficiency of the employment of living labour. The average level of labour productivity in industry in the

CMEA countries is higher than in the EEC countries.

It is worth noting that even now in Western literature one often comes across general evaluations of the functioning of socialist and capitalist economies which do not speak for capitalism. Albert-Charles Baudouin, the well-known Belgian scholar, writes, for instance, that the private enterprise system is compelled to admit the superiority of a planned economy. The noted American economist John Kenneth Galbraith observes that there is profound dissatisfaction with the functioning of the capitalist system in the United States as well as in Europe. It is worth noting that such statements do not refer only to periods of recession and crises. The ILO technological cooperation programme for 1974/75, published in Geneva in 1974, states that the development policy conducted in the 1960s, which paid attention mainly to high overall economic growth rates, did not help to solve the majority of problems related to the development lag, in particular, the problems of unemployment, partial employment, and colossal inequality in the distribution of income and wealth. It is not accidental that some features of the socialist economic system, centralised planning above all, which bourgeois ideologists previously considered synonymous with ineffectual management, are increasingly recognised by them as a guarantee of economic stability and a factor in confident economic development to be borrowed, if possible, to make capitalism more viable.

5. *Growth in the People's Well-Being*

The development of socialist society shows that under socialism the upsurge of social production is accompanied by a systematic growth of the people's living standards and cultural level and extension of their social and economic rights. In contrast, under capitalism the satisfaction of workers' needs systematically lags behind the development of the productive forces so that growth in the people's living standards is achieved only through their struggle against the exploiting system. Under capitalism, class antagonisms become aggravated, and the development of social institutions is insufficient and can produce no effective system of social guarantees. The social iniquity of the capitalist system in all its manifestations becomes increasingly obvious and intolerable to the working people.

Historical experience conclusively attests that there are fundamental differences in the dynamics of the people's living standards under socialism and under capitalism. Very generally, these differences are as follows:

(1) The deepening inequality of the incomes of the exploited majority and the exploiting minority in capitalist society is opposed by the levelling up of the living standards of different sections of society under socialism.

Under capitalism, these differences spring from the fact that some people possess capital and appropriate the unpaid labour of workers, while the latter sell their

labour power and receive merely its value or, more exactly, its price. According to official statistics, in Great Britain, France and West Germany, the poorest 10 per cent of the population receive merely 1-1.5 per cent of all incomes, while the richest 10 per cent account for 30-40 per cent of incomes. Under socialism, however, the different levels of consumption are due (1) to the difference in individual contributions to social production by workers in different jobs, with different skills, and of different degrees of efficiency, and (2) to the size of family.

The policy pursued by the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries is aimed at reducing property distinctions between the different sections of society, particular attention being paid to raising the living standards of those with scanty means. This is achieved through the priority growth of the wages of the lower-paid, periodical increases in pensions and student grants, and higher expenditures by the state for the maintenance of children. This, of course, does not imply any renunciation of the socially justified differentiation of workers' earnings, in accordance with the amount and quality of work performed.

(2) The systematic improvement of living standards under socialism contrasts with the unstable and contradictory dynamics of the workers' standard of living in the capitalist countries, where the living standard of the broad mass of the population periodically deteriorates. In the United States, for example, owing to the economic crisis, average real wages in 1975, dropped to the 1964 level, while per capita food

consumption in 1974 did not exceed the 1967 level.

(3) Characteristic of socialist society are stable and constantly extending social guarantees of man's existence and development, such as the right to work, ensured by the entire development of the economy, a free and highly developed system of health protection and education, and an advanced system of social security. In contrast, capitalist society is incapable of providing full employment and making medical services and education accessible to everyone; it maintains social security conditions which are unfavourable to workers; and so on. The inferior position of working people with respect to health protection and education, offset by the privileges enjoyed by the propertied classes; the precariousness of workers' livelihood on account of unemployment, the mass bankruptcy of small producers, and the high cost of medical care; the existence of a large section of people living in extreme poverty or having no means of subsistence—these are some of the typical features of the social position of the masses under capitalism.

Not only growth rates of production, but also growth rates of consumption are usually higher under socialism than under capitalism. In 1976 the consumption fund in all the CMEA countries put together increased approximately 420 per cent over 1950. In addition, it must be taken into account that a large part of the accumulation fund went directly to satisfy the people's needs, being allocated for the construction of houses and social and cultural amenities (see Table 7).

Table 7

Growth of the Consumption Fund
and of Investments in the Non-Manufacturing Sphere
(1950=100 per cent)

Country	1955	1960	1965	1970	1976
Consumption Fund					
Bulgaria*	142	195	209	380	565
Czechoslovakia	132	174	206	269	358
GDR	160	250	280	352	477
Hungary	128	168	202	273	359
Poland	149	204	280	340	560
Romania	190	238	309	432	683
USSR	152	216	278	593	536
Investments in the Non-Manufacturing Sphere					
Bulgaria	149	297	374	695	1,140
Czechoslovakia	192	272	280	468	869
GDR	192	310	276	481	722
Hungary	86	160	186	322	502
Poland	171	290	325	461	871
Romania	220	522	637	1,018	1,782
USSR	172	389	463	661	826
Including Investments in Housing, Municipal and Communal Services					
Bulgaria	165	344	437	729	1,181
Czechoslovakia	217	296	296	497	656
GDR	...	...	...	117**	229**
Hungary	83	150	162	302	468
Poland	198	374	400	595	1,208
Romania	253	671	819	1,255	2,196
USSR	169	365	412	610	744

* 1952=100 per cent.

** 1960=100 per cent.

Growth rates of the consumption fund have exceeded much those of the population. In per capita terms, the consumption fund in 1976 surpassed the 1950 level about 370 per cent in Bulgaria (compared with 1952), 200 per cent in Czechoslovakia, 420 per cent in the GDR, 220 per cent in Hungary, 300 per cent in Poland, 410 per cent in Romania and 270 per cent in the USSR (see Table 8).

Table 8

Per Capita Growth of the Consumption Fund
(1950=100 per cent)

Country	1960	1965	1970	1976
Bulgaria*	181	239	325	470
Czechoslovakia	159	183	233	297
GDR	267	303	379	522
Hungary	157	186	247	316
Poland	171	205	259	405
Romania	211	265	348	510
USSR	182	217	290	378

* 1952=100 per cent.

Let us note for the sake of comparison that per capita personal consumption in 1975 exceeded the 1950 level by merely 62 per cent in the United States, 64 per cent in Great Britain, 160 per cent in France, 180 per cent in Italy, and 200 per cent in West Germany.

Owing to their higher growth rates, the socialist countries have overcome or are overcoming their lag

in consumption, inherited from the past, compared with the developed capitalist countries.

Under people's rule, for instance, a qualitatively different level of food consumption has been attained.

Compared with other countries, the calorie content of the diet in the CMEA countries is no less than in such developed capitalist countries as West Germany, Great Britain and Italy, although in a number of instances the proportion of animal protein, for example, is still somewhat lower. Neither is there any essential difference between these groups of countries with respect to clothing, footwear and some other consumer goods provided for the population. The socialist countries are successfully overcoming their lag in the provision of certain household durables. It is very important that in the socialist countries the retail prices of staple goods and services are maintained at a stable level. This does not exclude, of course, a certain flexibility of price formation, taking into account both lower costs of goods and additional expenditures that may have gone into improving their quality, or optimisation of the relation of price levels of different goods, and so on. It is also a well-known fact that the CMEA countries have the lowest rents, public transportation fares, etc., in the world.

A great role in raising the people's living standards is played by housing construction. To quote an example, during the eleven years between 1966 and 1976 housing with about 1,172 million square metres of useful space was built in the USSR. This made it possible to improve the living conditions of 122 million

persons, or nearly half the Soviet population. The CMEA countries lead the world in the rate and scope of housing construction. The available floor space in the CMEA countries is as yet considered insufficient and many of them have adopted long-range housing construction programmes in order to solve the problem. Large-scale housing construction in the CMEA countries continues. The aim is not simply to increase the floor space available per person, but to provide a separate, well-appointed flat for every family and to improve the layout of the flats and make them more comfortable.

To provide all citizens without exception with high-standard housing will cost society a great deal of money, especially as housing is either made available gratuitously or constructed with government credit granted on easy terms. Apart from that, the state often subsidises the maintenance of housing made available to citizens. In this way, provision with housing does not depend on a family's income. Providing housing for everybody has become the concern of society at large.

The rapid growth of consumption can be seen from the figures on retail trade in Table 9.

The task of increasing the people's well-being is not viewed in the CMEA countries merely as one of increasing the output of goods. It is simultaneously a task of consolidating the socialist mode of life. Growth in consumption of material goods is, naturally, the material basis of the development of the socialist mode of life, yet the two are not synonymous. High consumption of material goods is not enough to enrich one's life

Table 9

Retail Turnover
(in comparable prices; 1950=100 per cent)

Country	1965	1970	1976
Total Turnover			
Bulgaria	452	684	970
Czechoslovakia	232	339	457
GDR	296	371	495
Hungary	253	389	532
Poland	285	385	711
Romania	479	726	1,100
USSR	395	586	833
Per Capita Turnover			
Bulgaria	400	584	884
Czechoslovakia	203	293	390
GDR	320	400	542
Hungary	233	351	469
Poland	225	292	513
Romania	411	585	889
USSR	308	435	585

or further the development of one's abilities. It is important to acquire culture, take part in social life and have personal contacts with other people. Much attention is given to these aspects of life in the socialist countries, where growth of consumption is coordinated ever more closely with the development of the socialist mode of life.

The advantages of socialism in the social sphere are manifested most fully in developed socialist society when it has become possible to make the all-round upsurge of the people's living standards the corner-

stone of socio-economic policy, when greater satisfaction of man's growing material, cultural and intellectual requirements has come to be the main goal of economic development.

The palpable and stable growth of the people's well-being in all its aspects, the still deeper and more effective manifestation of social achievements possible under socialism alone, and confident progress in the as yet lagging sectors of social and cultural development are the main directions in which the historical advantages of social production are realised.

The communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries proceed from the assumption that the main aim of long-term socio-economic strategy consists in the steady rise of the people's living standards and cultural level. Programmes of social measures are an indispensable part of the five-year plans for the socialist countries' economic development.

The decisions of the recent congresses of the communist and workers' parties of the CMEA countries and their economic development plans set forth extensive social programmes covering a wide range of measures. Briefly, the main purposes of these measures are as follows:

- to raise substantially the level of consumption of material, cultural and intellectual goods by the population;
- to solve gradually the housing problem, to improve working and living conditions, including the conditions of rest and leisure;
- to improve the social pattern of consumption by

levelling up the living standards of different sections of the people, all social groups having their incomes consistently increased;

—to develop the education, cultural service and health protection systems.

In planning and carrying out social measures, the following important points are taken into consideration.

First, the social measures are closely coordinated in scale with the proposed expansion of social production. This makes the social programme feasible.

Second, social measures help ensure society's gradual advance towards full social homogeneity by removing essential distinctions between the different social groups in socialist society, in particular by levelling up their material and cultural living conditions, and their drawing together on this basis. To quote an example, in 1965 only 4 per cent of the population in the Soviet Union had an income of more than 100 roubles per family member, whereas at the close of the tenth five-year period (1976-80) nearly half the population enjoyed such an income. This means that the consumption sphere in socialist society is increasingly characterised by genuine democracy.

Third, growing significance attaches to the comprehensiveness of social programmes. The latter, along with providing for increased consumption of material and cultural goods, are more and more concerned with the improvement of working conditions, environmental protection, an active demographic policy, and so on.

Fourth, due account is taken of the need for enhancing the role of social measures in the development of social production.

Social programmes assign an important place to the further development of social consumption funds. The latter continue to play a great role in the solution of social problems. For this reason, in the 1976-80 period social consumption funds continued to grow faster than the wage fund. Thus, between 1976 and 1980 the allowances and benefits paid out of social consumption funds in the USSR increased by 30 per cent. The planned increase of social consumption funds takes into account more than the future growth in size of the age groups (pensioners, children, and grant holders) to whose material security these funds are of particular importance, more than population growth in general, which requires extension of the network of hospitals, schools, and so on. Simultaneously taken into account are the tasks of satisfying to a higher degree those of the people's requirements that are met through social consumption funds, the tasks of further improving the pension system, the social insurance system, and so on. The minimum retirement and disability pensions, and minimum pensions for families who have lost their breadwinner are increasing. The retirement pensions, calculated in per cent of earnings (about 74 per cent in the USSR), may be considered, on the whole, sufficient to meet the retired persons' needs. It still remains necessary, however, to bring the pensions of those who retired earlier, when the average wage level was lower than now, up to the amount paid at present.

Additional pension benefits will be granted to peasants, contributing to the further levelling up of the social security of industrial, office and professional workers and collective farmers.

An urgent social problem being given increasing attention is that of providing proper conditions and incentives to induce those of retirement age to continue to work. For this purpose, jobs must be provided with conditions better than the ordinary and shorter work hours; opportunities should be envisaged for employing retirement-age persons as consultants, and so on. In some CMEA countries, the pension system is supplemented by special incentives, such as larger pensions for those retiring later than they may.

The growing role of social consumption funds in the maintenance of children is one of the cardinal principles of social policy in socialist society. In the USSR, for instance, almost a third of the expenses for children's upkeep, upbringing and education is covered by social consumption funds. This proportion will grow as the system of family allowances is expanded and larger allocations are made for pre-school establishments and boarding schools, which take care of increasing numbers of children.

Immense importance is attached in the socialist community countries to the satisfaction of the people's needs with respect to education and health protection.¹

The education and health protection systems in

¹ See Chapter VI.

these countries are genuinely democratic, being maintained by the state and made accessible to citizens free of charge. In contrast, college students in all the developed capitalist countries except France have to pay tuition. The health service does not, except in Britain, extend to all citizens. In France, for instance, only 54 per cent of the population is covered by the public health service. And even where there are public medical institutions, that does not mean that health service is altogether gratuitous. In the United States, where there are only private medical institutions, the state merely grants some privileges to citizens aged 65 and over.

While in the CMEA countries all citizens are paid allowances from government funds in the event of sickness, in the developed capitalist countries such benefits are paid only to a fraction of citizens, ranging from 95 per cent in Britain to 26 per cent in the United States.

Developed socialist society opens up new prospects for raising the people's living standards. An estimate of the resources the CMEA countries will command in the forthcoming twenty years shows that over this period they will be able to develop such productive forces as will allow the volume of production to be brought to a level sufficient for the satisfaction of each citizen's requirements (as judged reasonable by modern scientific standards) for the principal kinds of foodstuffs and manufactures. The solution of this problem will make the superiority of the new social system still more obvious.

THE SOCIO-CLASS STRUCTURE OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY

1. The Fundamental Difference in the Socio-Class Structures of the Antagonistic Society and Socialist Society

One important advantage of socialism as a social system is the abolition of the exploiting classes. Under socialism, there are no antagonistic contradictions between classes. This chapter examines the socio-class structure of socialist society.

By social structure, we mean the totality of those stable, recurring relationships, inseparable from the object, which provide for the unity of a social system. These relationships are characteristic of the positions of the social classes, groups and strata, depending on the place each of them occupies in society and in the system of the social division of labour, and on their relation to the ruling institutions.

It goes without saying that in a class society, classes are the basic elements of the social structure.

'Classes are large groups of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production, by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated in law) to the means of production, by their role in the social organisation of labour, and, consequently, by the di-

mensions of the share of social wealth of which they dispose and the mode of acquiring it.'

Classes and class society are linked with definite stages in the development of production, with certain types of relations of production. As changes occur in the social productive forces, the relations of production also undergo a change. And as the socio-economic structure of society alters, so does its class structure. Consequently, men are not free to choose their relations of production, nor are they free to choose their socio-class structure. Both the relations of production and socio-class pattern are objective phenomena produced in the course of social development.

The key feature of a class is its relation to the means of production. Depending on this relation, a class may be a dominant or a subordinate one in the system of social production. This objective feature determines the special role of the class in the social organisation of labour. The share of the national wealth appropriated by a class, as well as the method by which it is appropriated, also ultimately depend on this feature.

The socio-class structure of a society may be understood only by taking into account all the afore-mentioned points as a whole.

In socialist society, none of the classes is the sole owner of the means of production. Simultaneously, no class is deprived of means of production. All classes

¹ V. I. Lenin, 'The Heroes of the Berne International', *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 421.

and strata of socialist society are equal owners of the means of production, i.e., the means of production constitute public property.

Relations between classes in socialist society are founded on equality and cooperation in the production and distribution of the products of social production. That is why classes in socialist society are not classes in the traditional sense, and, to a considerable extent, lose the classic characteristics and features of classes. Taking place under socialism is a *continuous modification and drawing together of social classes, groups, and strata*. Distinctions in the character of labour and in qualifications tend to disappear and society becomes increasingly homogeneous.

The socio-class structure of socialist society is now represented mainly by the working class, the peasants organised in cooperatives, and the people's intelligentsia. This, however, is far from being an exhaustive definition of the socio-class structure of socialist society. Its all-round analysis also involves the study of intra-class relations, of the situation of different strata and groups and the relations between them. With respect to the intelligentsia, for example, it may imply singling out (a) experts engaged in the national economy (industry, agriculture, building and transport); (b) those engaged in science and art; (c) those engaged in public education, health protection, the service sphere, etc.; (d) office workers, and so on.

Social groups, too, pertain to the social structure of society. They are formed according to occupation, community of goals and interests and other social

and socio-psychological characteristics. A special place in the social structure belongs to the family. This primary social group is responsible for the reproduction of the human race. The family also performs many other functions, such as organising the home life and leisure of its members, training the young for socially useful activities, and so on.

Young people, women and pensioners form socio-demographic groups occupying an important place in the social structure.

The socio-class structure of exploiting societies gives an idea of the particular forms in which irreconcilable social antagonism exists and manifests itself. It is the structure of a society characterised by a condition of war of everyone against everyone. Engels wrote: '...All historical struggles, whether they proceed in the political, religious, philosophical or some other ideological domain, are in fact only the more or less clear expression of struggles of social classes, and that the existence and thereby the collisions, too, between these classes are in turn conditioned by the degree of development of their economic position, by the mode of their production and of their exchange determined by it.'¹

Historically, classes emerge at a certain stage of development of the social productive forces. They re-

¹ Karl Marx, 'The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte', in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, in three volumes, Vol. 1, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979, pp. 396-97.

flect men's different positions in social production—their special relation to the means of production. A free citizen or a slave, a property owner or one who has no property, a feudal lord or a serf, a capitalist or a proletarian, are all people differing in their relation to the means of production. This fact determines their different interests, social position, requirements, hopes, and illusions.

Prepared by capitalist society's own development, the victorious socialist revolution marks the beginning of the building of socialism. The latter gives rise to the socio-class structure of socialist society. It is the *first non-antagonistic socio-class structure in human history*.

In historical terms, socialism is the first phase of the classless communist society. It is society's first resolute step towards abolishing classes and class contradictions. Nevertheless, in socialist society division into classes, and the essential difference between town and country and between manual and brain workers continue.

The working class and the peasantry are the two main classes of socialist society. Connected historically with the means of production in industry and agriculture, these two classes differ both by the places they occupy in social production and their relation to the means of production. These objective differences also determine the specific interests of the workers and peasants in other spheres of life in socialist society as well.

Study of the objective position of the workers and

peasants in social production under socialism shows that, *first*, classes continue to exist after the victorious socialist revolution; *second*, that the fundamental interests of both classes of socialist society coincide; and *third*, that the final abolition of classes requires a long effort aimed at levelling up living and working conditions by making all members of society equal with relation to the means of production.

The principal features of the socio-class structure of socialist society take shape even during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. During that more or less lengthy period, the exploiting classes are gradually abolished. The basis of exploitation of man by man disappears, and with it disappears irreconcilable social antagonism.

In industry, uniform state socialist ownership is established as the means of production are nationalised. The objective position of all participants in industrial production changes radically. Their relation to the means of production becomes equal.

The situation is more complicated in agriculture. Here, besides purely capitalist forms of economy, there is a vast mass of small and medium-scale producers. These toilers, integrally linked in some countries with private landownership, have never exploited the labour of others. Being oppressed by the big merchants and industrialists, they are the workers' natural allies in their struggle against capitalist exploitation. Immediately after the victorious socialist revolution, the peasants are not yet prepared to renounce private landownership. They arrive at socialism by a longer

road. Taking into account the revolutionary potentialities, the place and role of the small and medium-scale peasants under capitalism, Lenin elaborated a scientific plan for consolidating the alliance between workers and peasants both before and after the socialist revolution. After the victorious socialist revolution, conditions arise in which the peasant's dual psychology of property owner and toiler manifests itself. Lenin saw the way out of this situation in the organisation of cooperatives. Lenin's famous *cooperative plan* provides for gradually drawing the peasants into different kinds of cooperatives. As part of a cooperative, a peasant gradually builds up his confidence in the new, collective forms of production. Here he develops a mentality enabling him to join in the socialist forms of production.

As a result, by virtue of the historically established difference in the position of the workers and peasants, two forms of socialist property, state and cooperative property, inevitably arise under socialism.

The difference between the two forms of socialist property—state and cooperative-group property—determines the difference between the working class and peasantry under socialism. The distinctions between them exist within the framework of their common interests, within the framework of their common socialist relation to the means of production.

The gradual drawing together of the two forms of property and their gradual development into uniform communist property, and the elimination of essential distinctions between town and country, between work

in industry and in agriculture, is a stable historical tendency in the development of the socio-class structure of socialist society.

The working class is the most numerous and progressive class under socialism, too. The proportion of industrial workers is steadily increasing. In the Soviet Union, for example, they accounted for 33.5 per cent of the active population in 1939, and for 61.6 per cent in 1977. Simultaneously, the proportion of collective farmers dropped from 47.2 to 15.7 per cent. The main reason for the changed ratio between workers and peasants under socialism is the accelerated development of progressive industrial production methods. *Farm work is gradually turning into a class of industrial work* and an increasing number of peasants are being trained as machine operators and farm experts. Owing to the comprehensive mechanisation of farm jobs and reduction in the number of workers needed in agriculture, many farmers are finding jobs in industry, joining the working class.

Growth in the proportion of brain workers is a stable tendency inherent in socialist society. It is accelerated by the technological revolution. Using the data for the Soviet Union, we can trace a tendency characteristic of all socialist countries. In the Soviet Union, the proportion of brain workers increased from 16.7 per cent in 1939 to 31.5 per cent in 1977. The socialist intelligentsia, which shares the vital interests of the workers and peasants, enthusiastically contributes to building a developed socialist

society and helps pave the way for the gradual transition to a classless communist society.

As socialist society advances, the objective differences between workers and peasants, intellectuals and office workers diminish. This tendency in the development of the socio-class structure of socialist society reflects the general movement of society towards communism. At the socialist stage, this tendency finds expression in the continually growing social homogeneity of society resulting from the gradually drawing together of classes and groups as changes occur in their place in social production, in their mode of life and in the moulding and development of the socialist individual.

2. *The Leading Role of the Working Class in Socialist Society*

As a result of their comprehensive study of capitalism, Marx and Engels came to the conclusion that by virtue of its objective position in society, its place and role in social production, and its fundamental interests and aspirations, the working class is the revolutionary force which can not only overthrow the bourgeoisie, but also build a communist society.¹ In the struggle against capitalism and for the socialist

¹ See: Marx, Engels, *The German Ideology*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, pp. 60, 91-92; Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, 'Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction', in: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, Progress Publishers Moscow, 1975, p. 187.

reorganisation of society, the working class has natural allies in the peasants and other working people whom, Lenin wrote, 'the bourgeoisie exploit, oppress and crush, often not less but more than they do the proletarians, but who are incapable of waging an independent struggle for their emancipation'.¹

To get the upper hand in this struggle and exercise the leading role proper to it, the working class must have a party to lead it in carrying out the socialist revolution and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat as the key condition for the triumph of socialism.

The leading role of the working class is necessary not only for the working people's revolutionary struggle, not only for the transition from capitalism to socialism, but also for the building of communism.

Emphasising that the main contribution of Marx's doctrine is his elucidation of the world-historic role of the proletariat as the builder of socialist society, Lenin also puts another important question: 'Has the course of events all over the world confirmed this doctrine since it was expounded by Marx?'² And he replies: 'Since the appearance of Marxism, each of the three great periods of world history has brought Marxism new confirmation and new triumphs. But a

¹ V. I. Lenin, 'The State and Revolution', *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 404.

² V. I. Lenin, 'The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx', *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, Moscow, 1968, p. 582.

still greater triumph awaits Marxism, as the doctrine of the proletariat, in the coming period of history.¹

Lenin's prophetic words were brilliantly borne out by the entire course of history. Marx's doctrine of the working class and its leading role, enriched and developed by Lenin, has been embodied in practice. Its triumph lies, above all, in the victorious Great October Socialist Revolution, radical reorganisation of life in a vast country, and the achievement of developed socialism and the building of communism in the Soviet Union. Its truth has been proved again and again by the triumph of socialism in many countries of Europe and Asia, and by the experience of Cuba, the first socialist country in America.

Not only has history borne out the principal Marxist-Leninist doctrine—the doctrine of the world-historic role of the working class as leader of the revolutionary struggle and socialist construction, but it has revealed the profound meaning and immense significance of this doctrine in the current epoch, and shown the need for its further creative development, deeper assimilation, and skilful application as a guide to action. It is now clearer than ever before that this is the only theoretical foundation on which the new world can be built successfully, that only the leading role of the working class, constantly enhanced and perfected, makes possible the advance towards mature socialism and communism. The victorious

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 585.

Great October Socialist Revolution and socialist revolutions in other countries have fully demonstrated the great worldwide liberating mission of the working class. The socialist countries have shown in practice the truth of the fundamental Marxist-Leninist thesis that the working class alone, led by its communist and workers' parties, can guide the exploited masses in the struggle to overthrow the capitalist yoke, secure and consolidate their victory, and establish a new social system. History has shown more than once that all deviations from this doctrine or attempts to deny or minimise its significance inevitably result in failure, in utter retreat from the positions of Marxism-Leninism, and in betrayal of the working class and its historic mission.

At the present time the attitude towards the working class and its leading role serves as the watershed between bourgeois and communist ideology, between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism in every form.

The question of the leading role of the working class in socialist society has become the object of ideological struggle. This is due to a number of causes.

Today the working class is in the centre of the current historical epoch. The working class and its offspring—the world socialist system—play the decisive role in the development of mankind. This is the basic and most important general feature of the world revolutionary process. The leading role of the working class is indispensable to the triumph not only of the socialist revolution, but also of peace, democracy, and

the entire progressive and emancipation movement of the masses throughout the world.

The socialist countries are at different stages of development. In the Soviet Union a developed socialist society has been built and a gradual transition to communism is being effected. Although the European socialist countries differ to some extent in their economic development levels, most of them started to build a developed socialist society. In other socialist countries, the foundations of socialism are being laid. Nevertheless, irrespective of their level of development, in all socialist countries the above-mentioned feature finds expression in the need to build up and further enhance the leading role of the working class. This stems from the socialist mode of production, the vast scale and complexity of socialist construction, the rapid advance of the technological revolution, the growing social activity of the masses, and the necessity for intelligent scientific regulation of the changes and processes occurring in society. This general feature has specific manifestations in each country, depending on the specific historical conditions pertaining in it.

As the socio-class structure of society changes, essential quantitative and qualitative changes occur in the working class itself. There is a growing number of high-skilled workers, and workers of all trades become more active in public life and in production as their class awareness increases.

Enhancement of the leading role of the working class in socialist society is ensured by the objective

and subjective qualities and features of this class. It must be noted in the first place that under socialism the role of the working class as the principal productive force is enhanced still further.

The working class is directly linked with the state property of the whole people, which plays a determining role in national economic development. Of all the social groups the working class most consciously perceives the need for socialist and communist construction.

The leading role of the working class in society finds expression in the activities of the Communist Party, which is the vanguard of the class and simultaneously the main guiding force of society at large. This role is also embodied in the activities of the socialist state as the main class instrument of carrying out socialist and communist construction. Trade union and other public organisations are important forms of uniting all working people and rallying them to the positions of the working class.

Ideologically, its leading role is based on Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

Under socialism, the working class keeps and develops all its revolutionary features and qualities established under capitalism and acquires new features. Collectivism, high organisation, awareness, consistency and staunchness, devotion and loyalty to communism, unity and cohesion under the leadership of its party, high social and labour activity, are all typical features of the working class which greatly develop in socialist society.

In their theoretical and practical activities, the communist parties of the socialist countries, proceeding from these objective developmental features, increasingly step up their efforts to build up the leading role of the working class. The CPSU, which has led the heroic Soviet working class for over sixty years, guiding the building of socialism and communism in a vast country, has the richest and most comprehensive historical experience of all in this respect.

'Since the working class is the foremost and best organised force of Soviet society,' states the CPSU Programme, 'it plays a leading role also in the period of the full-scale construction of communism. The working class will have completed its role of leader of society after communism is built and classes disappear.'

The statements of the Programme find reflection in all the activities of the CPSU. The new Soviet Constitution states that the working class is the leading force of Soviet society, and that the CPSU is the nucleus of its political system and guides the great constructive efforts of the Soviet people, and imparts a planned, scientific character of their work for the triumph of communism.

The Programme of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, adopted by its 9th Congress in 1976, declares: 'Developed socialist society means raising the role of the working class and its Party as the leading

¹ *The Road to Communism*, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1962, p. 547.

force of society, and constantly strengthening its alliance with the class of cooperative peasants, with the intelligentsia and all other working people.'

Erich Honecker told the 9th SUPG Congress that the working class was the chief social force in the GDR. He said: 'We shall henceforth work so as to build up further its creative abilities and its influence in every area of the life of society.' The historic mission of the working class, he continued, consists in building socialist and communist society, and to be able to do this, it must hold power firmly in its hands.

The Polish United Workers' Party has pointed out the need for further strengthening the leading role of the working class in the country and its positions in the Party and the state, in political and public life. The documents of the Party stress the importance of consolidating its ranks and its bonds with the people.

Summing up Czechoslovakia's successes in building a developed socialist society, Gustav Husak told the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, held in 1976: 'We should not forget the cardinal statement of Marxism-Leninism that only a political party that recognises the leading role of the working class in the revolutionary remaking of society has a right to be its vanguard, to be a

¹ *IX. Parteitag der SED, Berlin, 18. bis 22. Mai 1976*, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1976, S. 20.

² *Ibid.*, S. 114.

revolutionary party indeed, a party of scientific communism.¹¹

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party takes a similar line, scientifically substantiated in its Policy Statement adopted at the 11th Congress in 1975. 'The tasks of socialist construction and the interests of all working people,' said János Kádár at the Congress, 'require that the leading role of the working class in every area of the life of society should be enhanced on the basis of the successes scored in recent years, that its political influence should increase.'¹²

The leading role of the working class is also increasing in the efforts to build a developed socialist society in the Socialist Republic of Romania. This was mentioned at the 11th RCP Congress by Nicolae Ceauşescu.

The First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, which proclaimed the building of communism to be the Party's strategic aim, stressed that it could be done only under the leadership of the working class. According to Fidel Castro, the founding of a Marxist-Leninist party as the party of the working class, which is now guiding the revolution and is a guarantee of its continuity, is one of the greatest achievements of the Cuban people.

¹¹ 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Prague, 12-16 April 1976, Politizdat, Moscow, 1977, p. 52 (in Russian).

¹² 11th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Budapest, 17-22 March 1975, Politizdat, Moscow, 1976, p. 82 (in Russian).

The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, too, pays increasing attention to strengthening the leading role of the working class in the country.

Profoundly loyal to Marxism, the Bulgarian Communist Party has always been guided by its principal proposition on the role of the working class in the development of society. It was reared in that spirit by its founder Dimitr Blagoev. After the victorious socialist revolution in Bulgaria in 1944, when a People's Democracy was emerging as a new form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Georgi Dimitrov, leader of the Party, declared: 'Without the working class, with its new place and goals, there is no People's Democracy, nor can there be any. A People's Democracy can arise only under the leadership of the working class.'

This line has now been worked out comprehensively in the Party Programme, a programme for building a developed socialist society, as well as in the materials and decisions of the 10th (1971) and 11th (1975) congresses of the BCP. 'The leading role of the working class,' said Todor Zhivkov at the 10th BCP Congress, 'is the key to the development of the socialist state and socialist democracy, as by its place in society and by its historical vocation, the working class is the natural leader of all working people until complete social homogeneity is attained and a classless communist society is established.'¹²

¹¹ G. Dimitrov, *Works*, Vol. 14, Sofia, 1955, p. 5.

¹² 10th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Sofia, 20-25 April 1971, Politizdat, Moscow, 1972, p. 142 (in Russian).

Historical experience has shown that the strengthening of the leading role of the working class in socialist society depends to a great extent on its numerical growth and changes in its social composition, living standards, and cultural and educational levels.

Opposing the opportunists in the Second International, Lenin proved that in order to carry out a socialist revolution one did not have to wait for the working class to form a predominant part of the population, as the strength of the proletariat is much greater than its share of the total population, because it expresses both economically and politically the real interests of the vast majority of the working people under capitalism.

This, however, does not mean that the size of the working class has nothing to do with its performance of its leading role. This is why Lenin pointed out, when he examined the objective factors determining this role in the socialist revolution, that the size of the working class was one of these factors. In the most developed countries, the working class makes up the majority of the population. This factor is all the more important in socialist society.

The growth of the working class is a general feature of society's development in all socialist countries. It is so even in countries like the GDR and Czechoslovakia which were economically well developed when they started their transition from capitalism to socialism. The growth may be faster or slower, depending on concrete historical circumstances, but it is inevitable.

'Despite the fashionable anti-Marxist theories which allege that the scientific and technological revolution is narrowing the scope of the working class and even eliminating it altogether,' said Leonid Brezhnev, 'the facts testify to the contrary: scientific and technological progress everywhere leads to the growth of the working class, due among other things to the new occupation introduced by the modern methods of production.'

The growth of the working class results from profound social changes, such as socialist industrialisation, the reorganisation and further development of agriculture, and the impact of the technological revolution.

It is a contradictory process. Some sections of the working class grow more than others, and some do not grow at all or even shrink. The general trend is, however, towards an absolute and relative growth of the working class.

This is demonstrated by Table 10 (p. 158).

Industrial, office and professional workers put together accounted for 84.3 per cent of the total population in 1977.

After the triumph of socialism in the USSR, the share of the working class in the population has kept growing steadily. The fall registered during the transition to socialism was due to the losses suffered by the

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975, p. 22.

Table 10

Growth of the Soviet Working Class
(total population-100 per cent)

	1913	1924	1928	1939	1959	1970	1977
Industrial workers	14.8	10.4	12.4	33.5	49.5	56.8	61.6

working class during World War I and Civil War, and to the dislocation of the national economy caused by the wars.

In the GDR, factory, office and professional workers accounted for 82.5 per cent of the population in 1965, 87.9 per cent in 1974, and 88.8 per cent in 1976.

Since the victorious socialist revolution in Bulgaria, the share of the working class has been growing at a rapid rate. In 1916, it accounted for 10 per cent of the population, increasing to 29.2 per cent in 1956 and 59.4 per cent in 1975.

The main contingent of the working class—industrial workers—continues to grow, although somewhat more slowly.

These changes have an important qualitative, as well as quantitative, aspect, as they have to do with the improvement of the social pattern of the working class as a whole. It is beginning to consist preponderantly of industrial workers, who play the most important part in the development of society.

Table 11

Average Annual Number of Industrial Workers
at State and Cooperative Enterprises
(thousands of persons)

Country	1950	1976
Industry as a Whole		
Bulgaria	823	1,027
Czechoslovakia	1,762	2,009
GDR	1,698	2,062
Hungary	1,029	1,340
Mongolia	26	42.9
Poland	2,332	3,528
Romania	1,067	2,652
USSR	18,887	28,079
Electric and Thermal Power Generation		
Bulgaria	7.2	12.8
Czechoslovakia	24.6	31.1
GDR	36.7	45.1
Hungary	26.6	26.6
Mongolia	0.4	2.6
Poland	30.1	52.1
Romania	11.7	34.6
USSR	320	514*
Machine Building and Metalworking		
Bulgaria	99.6	265
Czechoslovakia	564	734
GDR	600	793
Hungary	268	394
Mongolia	0.6	2.2
Poland	552	1,120
Romania	238	861
USSR	5,814	10,641*

* 1975 figures.

The growth of the main contingent of the working class is reflected in Table 11.

Over the past few years, the numerical strength of the working class in the service sphere and agriculture has considerably increased. As agriculture is invaded by technology, the machine operator in the broadest sense of the word becomes its central figure, and this substantially alters the composition of the agrarian contingent of the working class.

Under the impact of the progress made by science and technology, and particularly of the automation of production, important changes are occurring in the character and substance of the work and in the professional-and-skill structure of the working class. They are characterised by some important natural features. First of all, the amount of machinery available per worker, and of mental work required, increases, the proportion of skilled workers grows, new trades are brought into being by the technological revolution, and some arduous jobs disappear.

The rapid progress of the technological revolution has greatly extended the scientific service sphere, causing the number of workers in this sector to grow. They are, in effect, a new section of the working class, consisting of highly skilled and educated personnel engaged in scientific production and experimentation. The number of such workers in the USSR increased more than ten times in 1976 as compared with 1940, and approximately 50 per cent over 1965.

With the automation and complete mechanisation of production, there forms yet another new section of

the working class—worker intellectuals. This is an intermediate section between the working class and socialist intelligentsia, which, however, should be included in the working class, as its members, like all other workers, are in immediate control of machinery, change the object of labour, and produce material goods. Nevertheless, the content of their work, in which mental effort increasingly predominates, and their general knowledge and know-how bring them closer to technicians and engineers with a higher education. This section will continue to grow as one of the main forms of the increasing convergence of physical and mental work and, as a prerequisite of their organic fusion. The working class as the leading force of society has an exclusive interest in the development of this process and consequently in achieving complete social homogeneity of society and eliminating classes.

That is why such immense historic significance attaches to the fact that the social structure of the working class is coming to include—both absolutely and relatively—more high-skilled and skilled workers and continually less low-skilled and unskilled workers. Let us turn to the facts.

In Poland, about 55 per cent of the workers are high- or medium-skilled, 31 per cent low-skilled, and 14 per cent unskilled.¹

¹ See: *Vedushchaya rol' rabocheho klassa v sotsialisticheskikh stranakh* (Leading Role of the Working Class in the Socialist Countries), Moscow, 1974, pp. 88-89.

Over the past twenty years, the number of skilled workers in the GDR and Hungary has doubled. In 1975 in Bulgaria, high-skilled workers accounted for 33.8 per cent of the total force in industry, construction and transport, medium-skilled workers accounting for 47.7, and low-skilled for 18.5 per cent.¹

These successes were achieved thanks above all to the great concern of the socialist state for raising the qualifications of working people.

One of the major social achievements in the socialist countries is the rapid growth of the educational level of the working class.

In 1939 there were only 84 persons per thousand with a higher or secondary education (complete or otherwise) in the USSR. This number rose to 396 in 1959 and 586 in 1970, reaching 732 per thousand in 1977.

Table 12 below shows the growth of the educational standard of Bulgarian workers.

In terms of education, Socialist Cuba received an onerous legacy. In 1958, it had a million illiterates and more than a million semi-literates. Thanks to the strenuous efforts and energetic measures of the people's government, this situation was radically changed. Illiteracy has in the main been eliminated, and workers and other toilers continually raise their educational level. It is one of the most graphic examples

¹ See: *11th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Sofia, 29 March-2 April 1976*, Politizdat, Moscow, 1977, pp. 48-49 (in Russian).

Table 12

Educational Pattern of the Bulgarian Working Class
(per cent)

Workers	1956	1965	1975
Illiterate	8.5	3.9	—
With a primary education	85.8	85.5	84
With a secondary and incomplete higher education	7.4	10.3	15.8
With a higher education	0.3	0.1	0.2

attesting to the revolutionary role of socialism in the area of education.

In the Soviet Union and some other socialist countries, universal secondary education has been or is being introduced, which will give a fresh impetus to the workers' educational growth.

It is of particular importance to raise the working-class material well-being as well as the living standards of all working people. Every communist party and socialist state concern themselves with this problem. It is also at the core of their economic and social development plans.

One indicator of the material well-being of the working people is the wage level, which has changed in the following way (see Table 13).

In 1960, the average monthly wages and salaries in the USSR amounted to 80.6 roubles, increasing to 122 roubles in 1970 and 146 in 1975. Together with ben-

Table 13

Average Monthly Wages and Salaries
(in National Currency Units)
in the State and Cooperative Sectors of the Socialist
Economies

Country	1960	1975
Bulgaria	78.3	148
Czechoslovakia	1,365	2,369
Hungary	1,553	2,976
Poland	1,560	3,969
Romania	854	1,964
USSR	80.6	151.4

efits and payments from social consumption funds, they come to 198 roubles. By the end of the Tenth Five-Year Plan period, i.e., in 1980, they exceeded 168 roubles. Benefits and allowances paid to citizens out of social consumption funds have almost doubled.

Between 1971 and 1975, the average monthly wages and salaries in Bulgaria increased from 124 to 146 leva, the minimum wage amounting to 80 leva in 1975. By the end of the seventh five-year period, they increased to 180 leva, and the minimum wage to 100 leva. Social consumption funds have also considerably increased.

Accelerated socialist development and profound changes in the social structure of the working class increasingly shape a worker of a new type characteristic of the developed socialist society.

This is how L. I. Brezhnev describes the exemplary worker:

'He is knowledgeable, with a wide scope of vision and greater experience of participation in the socialist organisation of labour, of tightening labour discipline, and of carrying forward the Party's economic policy. A worker of this calibre is a match for the problems of heightening the efficiency of social production and for those of intensive economic development. He has become an immediate participant in resolving the imposing problems of the scientific and technological revolution.'¹

As the developed socialist society is built, and as it develops, the workers become more active socially. This finds expression above all in the activities of communist and workers' parties, in their policies, strategy and tactics, which are aimed at implementing the historical mission of the working class. Under the guidance of communist and workers' parties, all areas of public life are developed, and the alliance between the working class and all working people grows stronger. The party develops into a party of the whole people, but even so, it fully retains its class character as it continues to express the basic interests and aims of the working class, which become those of all working people. This was graphically stressed at the 25th CPSU Congress.

'Under developed socialism,' states the Report of the CC CPSU to the 25th Congress, 'when the Com-

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Leninskim kursom. Rech'i i statyi* (Following Lenin's Course), Vol. 3, Politizdat, Moscow, 1973, p. 344.

munist Party has become a party of the whole people, it has in no sense lost its class character. The CPSU has been and remains a party of the working class.¹

This fundamental proposition is equally valid for all communist parties in other socialist countries in which this process is under way. When the Programme of the Bulgarian Communist Party was passed by the 10th Party Congress in 1971, the proposition was scientifically substantiated and developed under Bulgaria's specific historical conditions. Speaking at the Congress, Todor Zhivkov stressed that *'the Communist Party, which remains a party of the working class, gradually becomes the vanguard of the people, a party of the whole people'*. This is one of the cardinal features of the building of a developed socialist society. It is an expression of the new changes which are occurring in the economy, political system, socio-class structure and intellectual life of our country....

Taking these changes into account does not at all mean belittling the leading role of the working class, substituting petty-bourgeois ideas for the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the party or mixing up the communist ideal with Narodnik ideology or abstract humanism. We flatly reject both the dogmatic and extremist assertions that the role of the working class can be performed by the intelligentsia, peasantry or youth, and the right-wing opportunist assertions as to the fusion

¹ *Documents and Resolutions, XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1976, p. 76.

or dissolution of the working class in other social strata. *In the course of building a mature socialist society, the Communist Party continues to be a party of the working class and at the same time gradually becomes a party of the whole people.'*

The class character of the communist and workers' parties increasingly calls for the enlargement and consolidation of their working-class nucleus. In 1976, workers accounted for 41.6 per cent of the CPSU membership and 58 per cent of new members, 80 per cent of those joining the Party are engaged in material production.²

In the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, 56.1 per cent of the members and candidates for membership are workers, and 74.9 per cent hail from working-class families. Workers accounted for 69 per cent of the new members admitted between the 8th and 9th SUPG congresses.³

In 1976, workers accounted for 41.4 per cent of the membership of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

The working class, guided by the Party, is ever more active in the country's social and political life. This finds expression in the activities of the socialist state, trade unions and other mass political organisations, and in measures which show that the working

² *10th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Sofia, 20-25 April 1971*, pp. 142-43.

³ See: *Documents and Resolutions, XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p. 76.

⁴ *IX. Parteitag der SED, Berlin, 18. bis 22. Mai 1976*, S. 123-24.

class is united around its Party, that all other working people firmly embrace the positions of the working class, and that the leading role of the latter is increasing.

Of the 1,500 deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet, 522 are workers, and in the local Soviets of People's Deputies workers account for 42.3 per cent of deputies.¹ Of the 500 deputies to the People's Chamber of the GDR 219 are workers, of the 352 deputies to the National Assembly of Hungary 137 are workers, and so on.² In Bulgaria, 105 of the 400 people's representatives are workers, and in People's Councils, 18,293 of the 55,393 People's Councillors, or 33 per cent, are workers directly engaged in material production.

In the national economy, the leading role of the working class is effected through the activities of party branches, trade unions, and other mass organisations of the working people, production conferences, economic councils and committees, and other forms of economic management.

In planning, the socialist emulation campaign and the inventors' and innovators' movement, the working class is not only the master of production, but also the main productive force of society, as the cardinal factor in mass-scale scientific and technological progress.

¹ See: *Sovetskii Soyuz. Politiko-ekonomicheskii spravochnik* (The Soviet Union. A Political and Economic Reference Book), Moscow, 1975, p. 77.

² *Die Arbeiterklasse der sozialistischen Gemeinschaft in den siebziger Jahren*, Berlin, 1976, S. 54.

The tendency towards convergence of classes and social groups is vividly manifest at the stage of building a mature socialist society. This process has two sides. The first is that the leading role of the working class is augmented and perfected, and the second is that the other classes and social groups gradually become sufficiently advanced to share the fundamental interests and historical aims of this class. This process is a new stage in the development of the leading role of the working class.

3. The Growing Homogeneity of the Socio-Class Structure of Developed Socialist Society

Marx and Engels proved that the historical mission of the working class is to build a classless society. Lenin defined the working class as the main leading and organising force not only in the socialist revolution, not only in socialist constitution, but also 'in the entire struggle for the complete abolition of classes'.¹

Developed socialist society is an important historical stage in the elimination of class distinctions. At this stage, the intricate process of convergence of classes and social groups becomes more intensive. The experience of the socialist community countries has shown that there is an essential tendency in this process, whereby the movement towards social homogeneity proceeds in such a way that the characteristic features of the work, public activity and intellectual

¹ V. I. Lenin, 'A Great Beginning', *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 420.

make-up of the working class increasingly become the social features of the cooperative peasants, the intelligentsia and other social groups. That is why the movement towards social homogeneity in the socialist countries, far from decreasing, increases still more the world-historic role of the working class as society's chief productive and revolutionary force.

In order to grasp the essence of this process, it is necessary to subject to all-round analysis the class structure of developed socialist society. Interlaced in it are economic, socio-class, political-administrative, ideological and other internal and international factors and conditions. Neither the working class nor other classes and social groups are unchangeable or static. The qualitative and quantitative aspects of this process should be viewed in their dialectical unity.

Substantial results have been achieved by the Commission for Multilateral Cooperation of Scientists in the Socialist Countries on the Problem "The Working Class in the World Revolutionary Process" (set up in 1972).¹ A number of questions relating to the social

¹ See: the principal publications of the Commission. *Rabochy klass—glavnaya revolyutsionnaya sila* (The Working class as the Main Revolutionary Force), Moscow, 1973; *Informatsionny byulleten*, No. 1, Warsaw, 1974; *Informatsionny byulleten*, No. 2, Moscow, 1974; *Istoricheskaya missiya rabocheho klassa i ideologicheskaya borba* (The Historic Mission of the Working Class and Ideological Struggle), Moscow, 1974; *Die Arbeiterklasse führende Kraft in revolutionären Weltprozess*, Berlin, 1974; *Rabochy klass v mirovom revolyutsionnom protsesse* (The Working Class in the World Revolutionary Process), Moscow, 1975.

activity, dynamics, interaction, drawing together and levelling up of the working class and other social strata and groups under socialism were studied jointly by scholars from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, and the Soviet Union, and with the cooperation of scholars from Romania, Vietnam and Cuba.

The most typical general aspects of the movement towards social homogeneity, observable in the European socialist countries, are the following:

First, while the emergence of classes is a natural, spontaneous process, the movement towards social homogeneity in the course of the development of socialist society is scientifically studied, guided and organised politically and socially. The process represents the dialectical unity of the objective prerequisites, conditions, tendencies and operation of the subjective factor. The working class is both the object and conscious subject of profound historical changes in the class pattern of mature socialism.

Second, the movement towards social homogeneity is a twofold process involving the elimination of essential differences between friendly classes and social strata under socialism, and simultaneously the emergence of some common social qualities and features, e.g., the intellectualisation of the working class and the social integration of the workers, cooperative peasants, socialist intelligentsia, white-collar workers, and so on.

Third, the movement towards social homogeneity is a deep, many-sided and long process of qualitative

reorganisation of relations between classes, and of the internal structure of the main classes and social strata.

Fourth, scientific communism has proved that the division into classes 'was based upon the insufficiency of production. It will be swept away by the complete development of modern productive forces.'¹

Today developed socialist society provides a set of social conditions for obliterating class distinctions, such as the complete development of modern productive forces; improvement of the socialist relations of production (the convergence of the two forms of socialist property, elimination of the vestiges of the old division of labour); involvement of the entire working class and the mass of the working people in social management; enhancement of the leading and creative role of the working class and working people in the cultural and intellectual sphere, in ideological activity and cultural development; firm establishment, enrichment and domination of the socialist mode of life, socialist social relations and socialist humanism becoming part of everyday life and of relations between individuals; internationalisation of socialist social relations as a catalyst accelerating the movement towards social homogeneity and intensifying the convergence of all classes and social strata.

It is not hard to see that a comprehensive approach to the analysis of social homogeneity in developed socialist society has nothing of the methodological defect of 'equal factors' in it. Different as the forms,

¹ Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, p. 334.

speed and extent of class changes in each fraternal socialist country may be, the movement towards social homogeneity follows a common, objectively determined line of development, from changes in the productive forces and relations of production to socio-political, ideological, cultural and intellectual changes in the life, social features and historical roles of the classes under socialism.

What is the effect of the new stage of development of the productive forces, of the material and technical basis of the socialist community countries, on the movement towards social homogeneity? The dialectical inseparability of the productive forces and the relations of production rules out the view that the impact of the productive forces on the classes and immediate producers is a 'pure', 'direct' and 'simple' phenomenon. This kind of 'direct' approach is the main fault of the bourgeois views on 'social stratification in socialist society'. According to these views, it is the level of technology, not the mode of production, that determines the main tendencies in the social mobility of society. Thus, the bourgeoisie overlooks the cardinal problem of relation to the means of production and advances as the determining factors differences in income, life style, ideology, prestige or participation in management.

Simultaneously, in the latter half of the 1960s in some socialist countries (in Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary) some sociologists argued that classes were completely eliminated under socialism. According to such conceptions, the relation to the means of

production loses its structure-determining character, yielding in importance to the character of labour (its complexity, and skill requirements), living standards and the way of life.

Social practice in the European socialist countries has disproved such conceptions, proving that the existence of classes in socialist society and the relations between them are determined by their relation to the means of production. The working class is immediately related to the national means of production, controls them and is both the producer and the organiser of production. The cooperative peasants are co-owners of the national means of production, but do not use them directly. At the same time, they apply cooperative means of production, which they own. The fact that the peasants own cooperative means of production and the specific features of their work invest them with the characteristics of a class.

The relations between classes are dynamic, not stat-

Table 14

Share of the Socialist Sector
in CMEA Countries' Gross Industrial Output
(per cent)

Year	Bulgar- ia	GDR	Mongo- lia	Pol- and	Roma- nia	USSR	Hun- gary	Czechos- lovakia
1960	99.1	84	100	97.1	98.7	100	97.3	100
1970	99	85.1	100	97.9	99.6	100	99	100
1975	99.8	97	100	98.5	...	100	99.3	100
1976	99.8	97.3	100	98.5	99.7	100	99.4	100

ic. It is a natural feature of the development of socialist production that the production of the means of production belonging to the whole people increases. This is clear from Table 14.

The rapid growth of the socialist productive forces has one highly significant result: the modern socialist working class in all European socialist countries is both absolutely and relatively the most numerous part of the active population. It should be noted that the proletariat also forms the main, larger part of the active population in the industrialised capitalist countries today. According to estimates of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the International Working Class Movement, its total strength there exceeds 209 million, as against 132 million in 1950.

To sum up, these are the main tendencies that mark the development of the class structure of socialist society.

The development of the productive forces turns the working class into the larger part of the active population in the socialist community countries, where-by its basic class features are enhanced. It owns the basic means of production (together with the other class and the rest of the social groups); combines organising and managing functions with executive ones in labour; is the direct producer of the basic means of production and of the major part of material and intellectual values; engaged mostly in physical labour, it takes an increasing part in mental work in and outside of production; enriches and develops socialist ideology and the outlook of the whole people; through

its vanguard, the Communist Party, it blazes the trail into the future, drafting and carrying out social and economic programmes for the development of society.

In the conditions of scientific and technological progress, greater requirements are made as to the workers' standards of skill and the occupational and territorial mobility of labour. On this basis there arise 'intermediate' or 'transitional' groups within the main classes and social groups, as well as between them. This process is enhanced as the number of unskilled workers decreases.

Thus, the changes occurring in the social status of the working class are both internal and external. They lead to the drawing together of the workers and the peasants, the people's intelligentsia and other social groups. If we look at the differences between industrial and farm work, and between physical and mental work, we cannot fail to see that at the present stage essential changes are occurring both in the division of labour in general and in the division of labour in particular (according to Marx's definition).

Changes in the division of labour in general are indicated by the growth of the proportion of wage and salary workers engaged in industry, construction, transport and communications in the CMEA countries.

There are also new aspects in the division of labour in particular. Moving into the foreground are new industries such as electronics, atomic power engineering, synthetic materials manufacturing and the pro-

duction of computers, which increasingly occupy key positions in social production.

The division of labour in particular is marked by the disappearance of many traditional jobs, especially those involving non-mechanised processes or done by hand. This increases the need for specialisation and vocational guidance.

At the current stage of socialist development, the old division of labour is gradually being abolished, and transition to a new division of labour is being effected. People will gradually master several related or interchangeable jobs. Hence a new pattern of *distribution* of workers in socialist production, along with a new division of labour, can be seen even today.

Thus, as the differences between the main classes with relation to the means of production are increasingly eliminated under socialism, differences arising as a result of the division of labour and its skilful application will come to the fore more and more.

The division of labour is not simply a technological matter, but one associated with the main relation of production, the socialist ownership of the means of production. The technological revolution, on the one hand, facilitates the change in the character of labour under socialism and the appearance of social strata bordering on the working class and socialist peasantry, such as highly skilled industrial workers engaged in new-type jobs, and machine operators in agriculture. On the other hand, it serves to intensify the

elimination of distinctive class features; workers in one social group assimilate the good qualities of other social groups, and new social traits characteristic of all the social groups are formed.

The tendency towards greater socio-class homogeneity in socialist society is also furthered by broad access to education and culture, development of varied forms of participation in public life, closer community in residential neighbourhoods, organisation of leisure and recreation and dissemination throughout society of scientific and political knowledge, above all, of the world outlook and ethical ideals of the working class.

The experience of the socialist community countries shows that in the movement towards social homogeneity the socialist working class continues to be the pivot of every people. Its ideals and interests reflect most fully the natural objective laws of historical development and the specific interests of the other social strata.

THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF SOCIALISM AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRACY

1. *The Class Character of the Socialist Political System*

The socialist political system was established as a result of the revolutionary struggle waged by the working class and its allies *under the guidance of the Marxist-Leninist party*. It was consolidated in the process of the sweeping changes undergone by social relations, above all in the sphere of production. The emergence and development of the political system of the socialist countries simultaneously imply the implementation of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, which has scientifically laid bare the class nature of the political systems of the socio-economic formations that preceded socialism, and conclusively proved that these political systems had always functioned as definite systems of *class domination*, serving as instruments of the exploitation of man by man.

The founders of Marxism-Leninism stressed the deep-lying, irreconcilable *class antagonism* of the political system of exploiting societies, as well as the resultant dual and contradictory character of policy and political relations. Simultaneously, Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory has pointed out the way

of building a new society through the consistent elimination of antagonistic class contradictions of an economic, social, and political character.

The *political system of socialism*—as opposed to the political systems of the preceding societies—is based on socio-economic relations free from exploitation and antagonism. Its foundation is socialist social ownership of the means of production, and a single national economic complex, which makes possible a planned utilisation of the national resources in the interest of the working class and all working people.

Having abolished the economic and political rule of the exploiting classes, socialism has radically changed the sphere of relations between classes, and the social structure of society. The leading class of society is the working class, which by its very nature represents the most active force in the building of socialism and communism.

The interests of the working class correspond—and on the more essential points they coincide—with the interests of all working members of society. The proletariat is the first revolutionary force in history which turns the victory of its revolution to the benefit of the majority of the people, of the masses. It would not try to stand above the other classes and social strata of society, to perpetuate its political rule, its dictatorship. The continually reproduced identity of fundamental interests is manifested in the fact that the peasants, the intelligentsia and other working people, by virtue of being *workers*, are interested in establishing and maintaining social relations free

from exploitation and in obliterating the still existing social differences, e.g., between town and country, mental work and physical labour, etc.

The identity of the fundamental interests of the workers, peasants and other working people is the basis of working-class policy towards the other classes and strata of the people, and of the drawing together of classes, strata, and social groups.

Cooperation and the friendly alliance of classes and all strata of society promote the growth of the social homogeneity of society. The new social relations result in the formation and operation of a single system of political institutions aimed at making society socially homogeneous. Under socialism—in contradistinction to capitalism—relations of cooperation are established between the elements of the political system. The development of state and social principles within the framework of the political system follows a single course, implying close ties between and the mutual influence of the state and public bodies in the course of socialist and communist construction.

The socialist political system is characterised by *cooperation* in the working people's exercise of power throughout society, and not by the power struggle present under bourgeois political systems. The socialist political institutions provide for extensive involvement of the different strata of society in building the new life.

The tendency towards social homogeneity inherent in socialist social relations, and the close cooperation

between the Marxist-Leninist party, the socialist state, public organisations and other elements of the political system naturally do not imply any denial of the interests objectively existing in socialist society, nor do they exclude the dynamics of these interests.

Socialism eliminates the antagonistic opposition of interests in society, but it does not seek to unify or depersonalise them or to dissolve all human aspirations into a few general state interests, as bourgeois ideologists allege distorting the socialist realities. An interest is the attitude of a person or a group to the socio-economic conditions of being, which is adequately or inadequately reflected in people's minds and becomes the spring of their practical activity.

The rapid development of socialism, economic growth and intensification, territorial division, the complexity of the internal structure of society, and other important factors result in the emergence of an internally differentiated system of interests. Because interests are varied and dynamic, it is not excluded that under socialism, too, certain differences should come out as contradictions, which should be resolved in conformity with the requirements of society's development. *The main thing, however, is that socialism opens up extensive possibilities for establishing a dynamic identity of the fundamental interests of society, the state, the group and the individual.*

Socialism has provided conditions under which the diversity of individual interests in society is not usually connected with conflicts or collisions or rivalry. The socialist political system furthers—and as socialism

advances, it will broadly encourage—different individual and group interests.

Simultaneously, the establishment of a dynamic identity of interests presupposes a constant bringing to light of opposed interests and the resolution of the problems concerned on the basis of principles which provide for the main, supreme, primary interests of society by every means, including those of government.

The diverse institutions of the socialist political system play an important part in apprehending and elucidating interests. Party and government bodies continually subject to scientific analysis the changing, diverse social relations, and socio-economic conditions determining the concrete relationship among interests. In the course of this activity, a correct combination of social, collective and individual interests is attained.

The structure and functioning of the socialist political system. The political system of socialist society operates under the guidance of the communist party, integrally uniting state and non-state (public) political organisations.

The socialist political system is a uniform system which sets itself common social objectives. All elements of the political system are organised and function in accordance with the principle of *democratic centralism*, which combines centralised leadership and local initiative and creativity, the responsibility of every state and public body and official for the work entrusted to them. In the socialist political system, centralism and socialist democracy are inseparable

and can carry out their function only provided that they continually interact.

Centralism implies uniform central leadership and subordination of lower to higher bodies. Socialist centralism is the condition necessary for the implementation of the cardinal internal objective characteristics of socialism, viz., public ownership of the means of production, large-scale socialist production, a unified planned national economy, the political unity of society, and so on. Essentially, however, socialist centralism can be nothing but *democratic*, being inseparable from democracy.

Democracy implies the independence of local bodies, the right to display initiative and criticise shortcomings. It also means that the system of major bodies of government is founded on the principles of representation and direct democracy. Centralism is founded on democratic principles, and democratic unity is just what makes centralism possible. Much attention is paid to coordinated development of these principles in socialist society. The policy statement of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, adopted at its 11th Congress, declares: 'On the basis of the principle of democratic centralism, it is necessary to perfect the centralised administration of society, while simultaneously increasing the independence and responsibility of local bodies.'¹

The principle of democratic centralism is expressed in the specific forms of organisation of the political

¹ 11th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Budapest, 17-22 March 1975, p. 229 (in Russian).

system, in the distribution of competence among different bodies, and in the methods of administration. The specific forms of and relation between centralisation and democracy in individual parts of the political system (to be described further on) may differ, depending on their specific features. The measure of centralism and democracy in society as a whole ultimately depends on the level of socialist production, the state of social relations, and concrete historical circumstances.

The leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party in the political system of socialism. The main distinctive feature and simultaneously an objective natural law of the socialist political system is that its political guidance is exercised by the most important political organisation, i.e., the Marxist-Leninist party.

Marxist-Leninist theory and the experience of history show conclusively that the working class can carry out its historic mission only if led by a strong, well-organised party. Only then can the working people cope successfully with the main and most difficult task of the socialist revolution—the task of building.

Socialism could triumph in the USSR precisely because there was a strong and well-organised working-class party. Lenin wrote that the Communist Party is the 'leader, the vanguard of the proletariat, which rules directly',¹ and that the dictatorship of the prole-

¹ V. I. Lenin, 'Once Again on the Trade Unions, the Current Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin', *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, Moscow, 1975, p. 98; 'Tenth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.)', op. cit., p. 199.

tariat would not work except through the communist party. The party plays a prominent role during the struggle for seizing and consolidating power. It owes its revolutionary strength to the fact that it is backed by a well-developed and tested scientific theory and consists of the more aware representatives of the proletariat and other working people; its organisation, founded on democratic centralism, and its methods of work with the masses make the party the most effective and best-organised force *capable of expressing the objective interests of the working class and other working people and furthering the implementation of these interests.*

The role of the communist party becomes even greater during the period of building socialism and the period of transition to communism.

In the course of building socialism, the party works out and consistently carries out a scientific economic strategy aimed at attaining fundamental long-term goals, the supreme of which is a steady rise in the people's material and cultural levels. The party guides cultural and educational work, relying on the broad mass of the working people.

Ever since it emerged, the Marxist-Leninist party has been devoted to the cause of the working class and all toilers. Taking upon itself the duty of serving the people, consistently representing and defending the working people's real interests, the party has won the trust of the masses and provided the basis for close contact with them. With the strengthening and improvement of socialist relations, the party expands and

carries out more and more fully the *principle of acting for the people, on behalf of the people, and together with the people.*

As society gradually becomes more and more solidly united and the labouring classes draw together, the Marxist-Leninist party becomes firmly established as the leading and guiding force of society as a whole. This finds expression in the growth of its membership and the enrichment of the means and methods of its political, ideological and organising work. During the period of building communism as well problems of immense historic significance are tackled by the party as the leader and organiser of the building of communism in the economic, political and cultural areas.

The Marxist-Leninist party rests and functions on the principle of democratic centralism. All leading party bodies are elected by a democratic process, exercise the principle of collective leadership, and must regularly report back to the party organisations that have elected them; party members may express their personal opinions at party forums, criticise, in accordance with the rules of internal party life, the work of any member or branch, and speak against those clamping down on criticism. Party decisions passed by a majority of votes are binding on each member, and the decisions passed by the higher party bodies are binding on the lower.

Criticism, self-criticism, electivity, collective leadership, subordination of lower to higher bodies, and responsibility for fulfilling the decisions adopted, are the principles which provide for inner-party democ-

racy and for well-organised and effective party leadership.

The party, as the cardinal leading force of society, plays a decisive part in advancing democracy. The communist party is the principal exponent of the principles of socialist democracy and guarantor of its successful advance. It consistently implements democracy in carrying out its tasks. Its own activity is an example of democratic approach to social problems. This idea is formulated in the CPSU Programme, which underlines: 'Being the vanguard of the people building a communist society, the Party must also be in the van in the organisation of internal Party life and serve as an example and model in developing the most advanced forms of public communist self-government.'¹

The party works out a general political line, a programme of action, to which state bodies and public organisations must conform in their activities. It is also important that party decisions are scientifically founded and are based on broad generalisations from facts and rigorous study of social relations. Each decision is preceded by extensive preparatory work. Decisions are prepared not only by party bodies of different levels. Involved in this work are the state and public organisations whose activities are affected by the decisions to be made. While making decisions within the limits of their competence and exercising the functions vested in them by the Constitution and state laws, state bodies carry out the

¹ *The Road to Communism*, p. 584.

party programme of social development and fulfil the tasks put forward and validated in party documents. Decisions adopted by party and state bodies often enough are concerned with the same or similar problems. But these problems are approached and treated in different ways.

The party elucidates and analyses the *political content* of social processes, using for the solution of the problems concerned a rich variety of means of *political organisation*. State bodies apply means that have to do with a legally exact definition of problems and competence. In delimiting the functions of the party and state bodies, one must not mechanically draw a line between their spheres of action. The party must exercise general political guidance in all areas of the life of society. The party should not be excluded, under the guise of division of labour, from giving guidance in any sphere of social relations. *The necessary demarcation line may be drawn in the context of party and state functions, methods of administration, and responsibility.*

Lenin believed that 'it is necessary to delimit much more precisely the functions of the Party (and of its Central Committee) from those of the Soviet government; to increase the responsibility and independence of Soviet officials and of Soviet government institutions, leaving to the Party the general guidance of the activities of all state bodies, without the present, too frequent, irregular and often petty interference.'

¹ V. I. Lenin, 'Letter to V. M. Molotov for the Plenary Meeting of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) with the Plan of the Political

The party's guidance of different bodies and organisations is exercised *through the activities of the Communists working in them*, including the executives responsible for organising their work. In this connection the party has always paid great attention to having executive jobs in state bodies and public organisations filled by capable, well-trained party members. *The party pursues a conscious, methodical cadre policy.* The party distributes executive personnel according to the needs of different sectors of the economy, concerning itself with their initial and further training.

The party wants to see the more capable and trustworthy of its members in executive government jobs. One of the tasks the Marxist-Leninist party sets itself is to train executives from among those directly engaged in production and promote them to diverse executive bodies. In no other political system are there so many executives originating from the working class as there are in the socialist countries. That is the result of the Marxist-Leninist parties' cadre policy. In this respect, the party also relies on capable persons descended from the peasantry or the intelligentsia.

Lastly, one must note that in socialist countries many executive positions are filled by non-party people, and where there is a multiparty system, also by members of other parties.

One of the key functions of party leadership of the

cal Report for the Eleventh Party Congress', *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, Moscow, 1976, p. 253.

activities of state and public organisations is that of control and verification of the execution of decisions. Lenin wrote: *'To test men and verify what has actually been done—this, this again, this alone is now the main feature of all our activities, of our whole policy.'*

In its work to check and verify the execution of decisions, the party makes use of information received from citizens and simultaneously encourages them to pay close attention to the performance of state bodies. As for its own members engaged in state administration, the party expects them to carry into practice party decisions. Communists in executive jobs are expected to set an example of abiding by the law. Errors committed by some bodies and wrong conduct on the part of individuals are severely criticised. Simultaneously, the party demands that its members should not hesitate to criticise themselves and expose shortcomings in their work.

The political practice of socialism successfully develops under both a one- and multiparty system. The question as to the number of parties in socialist countries was solved in the course of the struggle for socialism, due account being taken of concrete historical conditions. The one-party system is an essential feature of the political organisation of Soviet society. It emerged in the distinctive historical circumstances of the country's transition from capitalism to socialism.

¹ V. I. Lenin, 'The International and Domestic Situation of the Soviet Republic', *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 226.

The Great October Socialist Revolution delivered a crushing blow to the parties of the big bourgeoisie. As for the petty-bourgeois parties, they rejected the opportunity to cooperate which was open to them. By engaging in counter-revolution, they lost much of their social support, became isolated, dwindled away and finally came to an end.

The multiparty system that became established in some socialist countries was also an expression of the alliance and cooperation among the different strata of the working people led by the working class. Along with the Marxist parties, other parties also took part in the anti-fascist liberation struggle and accepted and supported the programme for building socialism. There is therefore under socialism no multiparty system in the bourgeois sense. The socialist multiparty system differs from the bourgeois multiparty system in that relations between the parties have nothing to do with political rivalry and power struggles, but are based on joint constructive effort, on cooperation in the interest of the working people. In socialist society, each party recognises the guiding role of the Marxist party and supports the building of socialism. In its turn, the Marxist-Leninist party recognises the independence of the other parties. One can judge how democratic a political system is not by how many parties there are but by what their social and class nature is. The existence of both one-party and the multiparty systems under socialism is quite justified if they express and secure the interests of the masses, the aims of socialism, and national political traditions. The main

purpose of all parties is to draw the social forces represented by them into carrying out the tasks involved in the building of socialism.

The role of the socialist state in the socialist political system. The socialist state is a major element of the political system. During the transition from capitalism to socialism the state is the main instrument of building the new society, becoming under developed socialism the main guarantee of the building of a communist society. At the first stage, the socialist state is a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and at the second stage it is a state of the whole people.

The socialist state emerges as the *state of the dictatorship of the proletariat*.

In the first period of its development, the socialist state was a *dictatorship* with respect to the *overthrown class enemy*. At the same time, it signified, for the first time in history, the most extensive *democracy and self-assertion* for the *labouring majority*. The dictatorship of the proletariat means the replacement of democracy for the exploiters by socialist democracy for the working people and ushers in the epoch of genuine people's government. It is an important function of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat to defend the gains of the victorious proletarian revolution from attempts at internal feudal and bourgeois restoration and from external counter-revolution.

Along with the suppression of the former exploiters, from the very start the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat had the functions—which increasingly moved to the fore with the development of society—of

organising the economy and conducting educational and cultural work. These functions graphically expressed the democratic essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its correspondence to the interests of the working class and non-proletarian working masses. Lenin wrote: 'The dictatorship of the proletariat is a specific form of class alliance between the proletariat, the vanguard of the working people, and the numerous non-proletarian strata of the working people (petty bourgeoisie, small proprietors, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, etc.), or the majority of these strata...'¹

This alliance of classes under the leadership of the proletariat made up the social foundation of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. One of the major tasks of the socialist state is to organise and further develop the national economy. It tackled this task in the course of its organising economic activities. The firm establishment of state ownership of the means of production made it possible to manage the economy on the basis of state economic, social and cultural development plans.

In the course of building socialism and communism, increasing requirements are made on every citizen, on the level of each person's social, cultural and intellectual development. The state helps these requirements to be met by performing a *cultural and educational function*. The socialist state provides

¹ V. I. Lenin, 'Foreword to the Published Speech "Deception of the People with Slogans of Freedom and Equality"', *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p.381.

equal opportunities for each of its citizens to get an education and learn, and furthers in every way the development of culture, science and art. In the area of culture and education, the main task of the state and public bodies is to provide more opportunity for citizens to develop and apply their creative energies, abilities and talents, for the all-round development of their personalities.

Safeguarding the rule of the working people and the conquests of socialism, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat gradually exhausts its functions. As the economic, technological and social foundations of socialism are provided, the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat connected with suppressing the resistance of the vestiges of the exploiting classes disappear. The state launches the economic and cultural building of a developed socialist society. In the course of its further development, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat grows over into a *state of the whole people*. The Soviet Union is the first of the socialist countries to have traversed the historical path of development from state of the dictatorship of the proletariat to state of the whole people.

This path is described as follows in the new Soviet Constitution: 'Continuing their creative endeavours, the working people of the Soviet Union have ensured rapid, all-round development of the country and steady improvement of the socialist system. They have consolidated the alliance of the working class, collective-farm peasantry, and people's intelligentsia,

and friendship of the nations and nationalities of the USSR. Socio-political and ideological unity of Soviet society, in which the working class is the leading force, has been achieved. The aims of the dictatorship of the proletariat having been fulfilled, the Soviet state has become a state of the whole people. The leading role of the Communist Party, the vanguard of all the people, has grown.'

The state of the whole people in the Soviet Union is an *organ of the whole people* which represents and expresses the *will of the whole people*. Nevertheless, it does not lose its class nature, its political character, for while certain changes occur in the class structure and in class relations, the latter do not disappear. The main goals of the state of the whole people are to build the material and technical foundations of communism, perfect socialist social relations and transform them into communist social relations, mould the citizen of communist society, raise the people's living standards and cultural level, provide for the country's security, contribute to the consolidation of peace and the development of fraternal cooperation with socialist countries. Under socialism the state structure expresses the unity of state power. The bourgeois principle of the division of government into legislative, executive and legal is replaced by the division of administrative work between different state bodies, according to their specifics and the territorial and administrative division of the state. Bodies of government, which form a single system, are subdivided into higher and local.

The higher bodies of government are representative bodies elected by all citizens on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage, by secret ballot. All central and local government bodies are subordinate to them.

Local representative government bodies, elected by the population of territorial administrative units, directly or through bodies set up by them, supervise all branches of state, economic, social and cultural development, make decisions and provide for their execution, and exercise control over the implementation of decisions. The work of local government bodies graphically demonstrates the highly democratic nature of socialist society, the principle of the masses' participation in government. Their activities are based on collective, free and businesslike discussion and handling of various matters, publicity and accountability, whereby all deputies and administrative and executive bodies regularly report back to the voters.

Local executive bodies are subordinate to local government bodies, whose decisions they must fulfil. On the whole, however, the local state bodies carry out the tasks set by the central state bodies as well as those of local self-government, relying on the broadest mass of the population.

Role of public (mass) organisations in the socialist political system. Socialist public organisations play a great role in coping with important political problems, in the area of production, culture, education and instruction, in maintaining public order, and in the social sphere. These organisations elucidate, express,

and coordinate the interests of different social groups. The socialist state guarantees the special legal means necessary for this activity and for the protection of citizens' interests, granting public organisations consultative rights and the right to approve government decisions and check their execution.

One characteristic of mass political movements, such as the Popular Front, the peace movement, women's associations and friendship societies is that they carry on their activities among the broadest mass of the people, spreading their influence over the entire population or one of its sections.

The *Popular Front movement* is typical of the political system of some socialist countries. It is a mass public political organisation embracing the entire population (in particular on a territorial basis as well). It plays a great role in *forming and assisting in the work of representative bodies of the state* (elections). With the development of socialism, Popular Front organisations increasingly turn into forums for broad discussions and exchanges of opinion on urgent economic, political and cultural matters.

Popular Front bodies take part in locally organising social work, carrying out economic, social and cultural development plans, and draw working people into the building of socialism. The Popular Front actively participates in *carrying into practice the party's social policy*, in making citizens politically active, and strengthening the social and political unity of society.

Mass public organisations (the trade unions, com-

munist youth leagues, cooperative organisations, etc.) are founded on voluntary membership and are an integral part of the socialist political system. They participate, in accordance with the aims laid down in their rules, in managing state and public affairs, and in deciding political, economic, social and cultural matters.

Members of mass public organisations participate in providing material facilities for their organisations by paying membership dues; they are united in territorial branches which form a system based on the principle of democratic centralism.

Trade unions are the largest mass organisation of the working people. Lenin called them a school of communism. Indeed, it is through the trade unions that the broad masses of the working people are involved in running the state and the economy, managing enterprises and carrying on socialist emulation. Besides lending support to the cause of building socialism, the trade unions perform their traditional functions protecting the interests of working people and work collectives, supporting and organising working people's initiatives, participating in the formation and work of representative bodies of government. Local trade union branches greatly contribute to the development and growth of *democracy in production*.

The *communist youth leagues* are voluntary mass organisations, whose main tasks are to *educate* the younger generation in the spirit of socialist and communist ideas and *prepare it for carrying out the tasks involved in the building of a new society*. They also

concern themselves with organising political work among young people in state bodies and public organisations, and *look after their interests*.

Besides the afore-said public organisations, many others could be mentioned. The *role of mass organisations in the life of socialist society* keeps increasing, and they are afforded ever greater rights and opportunities of participating in the administration of the state, a fact which shows that the interests of all social strata and groups of population are more fully taken into account in the activities of the state.

All-round cooperation between socialist countries. The political systems of socialist countries have a uniform socio-class essence, serving the common goals of building socialism and communism. To achieve these goals, political forms and institutions are established and developed which are similar to each other and simultaneously distinctive. The socialist countries, united by the community of their social system and devotion to the cause of peace, socialism and democracy, voluntarily develop all-round cooperation on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and international solidarity. Wherever it exists and grows, the socialist system gives strength and harmony to social relationships not only within society but also between individual countries building socialism and communism. In present conditions, there is a growing unity among them, based on the common objective features of socialist development and the theory of Marxism-

Leninism which is their guide in everything. A type of political system, uniform in its socio-class essence, and a uniform type of socialist democracy have become firmly established in the socialist countries. This uniformity does not exclude a variety of actual forms of political life or a specific structure and operation of many political institutions and instruments of democracy.

The activity of the Marxist-Leninist parties, linked by relations of friendship and close cooperation, is an important factor in strengthening the political unity of the socialist countries.

'Today, the ties between the fraternal parties,' the Report of the CC CPSU to the 25th Congress points out, 'present an impressive picture of deep, varied and systematic contacts between thousands upon thousands of fighters for the common cause, builders of socialism and communism—from Party leaders to officials of local Party committees and Party branches at factories and collective farms. These ties ensure a valuable exchange of experience, help us to advance with greater confidence, and add to our common strength.' The unity and cohesion of the socialist community countries is a powerful source from which socialism draws its vitality and strength and which accounts for its superiority over the capitalist social system.

Study of the political systems of the socialist

² Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU, p. 11.

countries reveals the immense variety and distinctiveness of the forms of state and social democracy; for example, bodies of the Popular Front type, and activities conducted by non-workers' parties in the European People's Democracies; extensive contact with the masses, organising work among them conducted by state bodies in the Soviet Union; collective leadership of some ministries in Bulgaria; nomination of two or more candidates in the election of deputies and other elements of the electoral system in Hungary, and so on.

The international activities of the socialist countries in the area of their mutual relations are founded on the principles of socialist internationalism. *The socialist countries assist one another in economic and cultural development, consolidating their alliance and jointly defending the gains of socialism and communism.* They conclude bilateral and multilateral economic and cultural agreements and carry out intensive economic integration under the Comprehensive Programme of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. The Warsaw Treaty is a defensive alliance of a new type, which guarantees peace and security to the socialist community nations.

The socialist countries consistently come out for solving outstanding problems by peaceful means through discussion and negotiation, and for ensuring social progress and peace on an international scale.

2. The Democratic Character of the Socialist System

Contrary to the narrow, formal conception of democracy in bourgeois society, the founders of Marxism-Leninism revealed the real class content of democracy where it serves to implement the class rule of the exploiters. Soon after the victorious socialist revolution, Lenin, subjecting to scathing criticism the notions of 'pure', above-class democracy, wrote: 'This non-class or above-class presentation, which supposedly is popular, is an outright travesty of the basic tenet of socialism . . . in no civilised capitalist country does "democracy in general" exist; all that exists is bourgeois democracy, and it is not a question of "dictatorship in general", but of the dictatorship of the oppressed class, i.e., the proletariat, over its oppressors and exploiters, i.e., the bourgeoisie, in order to overcome the resistance offered by the exploiters in their fight to maintain their domination.'¹

When Marxists speak of democracy, they ask themselves in the first place: What kind of democracy? Democracy for which class? This approach is methodologically still *the most effective in fighting bourgeois ideology.* Lenin's criticism of 'pure', above-class democracy is still fully relevant and is used by Communists to expose bourgeois propaganda

¹ V. I. Lenin, 'First Congress of the Communist International', *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 457.

which idealises democracy in capitalist society. The problems of democracy must be viewed in the context of class domination and rule and also from the standpoint of the establishment and defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is achieved by the socialist revolution.

From the very beginning socialism in theory and practice treated the content and forms of democracy in their dialectical unity. In his *The State and Revolution*, Lenin emphasised the significance of perfecting democratic forms corresponding to socialist class content. He wrote: 'To develop democracy to the utmost, to find the forms for this development, to test them by practice, and so forth—all this is one of the component tasks of the struggle for the social revolution. Taken separately, no kind of democracy will bring socialism. But in actual life democracy will never be "taken separately"; it will be "taken together" with other things, it will exert its influence on economic life as well, will stimulate its transformation; and in its turn it will be influenced by economic development, and so on. This is the dialectics of living history.'¹

Constantly extending in the course of building socialism and communism is the class essence of socialist democracy, which opens great prospects for the further growth and the emergence of new forms of democracy, better performance by democratic institutions, and the further development of principles and standards of organisation.

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 25, pp. 452-53.

The concepts of socialism and democracy are inseparable. L. I. Brezhnev dwelt on this in his Report to the 25th CPSU Congress: 'Today, we know not only from theory but also from long years of practice that genuine democracy is impossible without socialism, and that socialism is impossible without a steady development of democracy. We see the improvement of our socialist democracy as consisting above all in a steady effort to ensure ever fuller participation by the working people in running all the affairs of society, in further developing the democratic principles of our state system, and in creating the conditions for the all-round flourishing of the individual. This is the direction in which the Party has worked and will continue to work in the future.'¹

Socialism has called forth new and higher forms of democracy and is applying them successfully. In socialist society, democracy has become the principle which underlies the operation of all elements of the political system. But in its influence democracy has transcended the area of state affairs; it extends to socio-economic relations, culture, and people's everyday life. Democracy has become an indelible feature of socialism, an intrinsic expression of the socialist mode of life.

The constant development of socialist democracy is a key requirement set down in the communist party programme and a major task for a socialist state.

¹ *Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p. 103.

In a comparatively short period of history, the socialist countries have achieved remarkable results in advancing socialist democracy. The growing strength of the socialist community is a major guarantee of the peaceful coexistence of nations and a major means of preventing armed conflicts and war. Today, there are greater opportunities and new prospects for the development of socialist democracy.

Broad participation of the masses in administering the state and running public affairs is a major requirement of socialist democracy. Lenin's ideas on drawing the masses into running society and the state are being translated into practice in socialist society. Socialist practice is the real embodiment of Lenin's demand for 'systematically drawing an ever greater number of citizens, and subsequently *each and every* citizen, into direct and *daily* performance of their share of the burdens of administering the state'.¹ Socialism sets out to bring into being mass democracy and collective management of society and the state.

In this age, with science and technology moving ahead at an ever faster rate, the relation of democracy and professionalism in government is becoming an acute problem. Socialism naturally advocates the greatest possible involvement of the masses in government, proceeding from the assumption that in principle every man and woman has the right to and

¹ V. I. Lenin, 'Extraordinary Seventh Congress of the R.C.P.(B.)', *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, Moscow, 1965, p. 156.

must take part in dealing with the affairs of the state and society. That is the gist of the Marxist-Leninist conception of democracy. The truth of this Marxist-Leninist position is, however, called into doubt by certain technocratically-minded bourgeois theorists.

In a technologically advanced society, they argue, it is better for important decisions to be made by a small group of qualified experts; it is unnecessary and impossible to involve the masses in politics. One may wonder for whom it is preferable to curtail democracy, barring thousands and millions of men and women from active public life. It may be preferable for the profit-greedy, for those who seek to increase monopoly influence and power, and other such interests that exist in capitalist society. These are anti-popular interests, which have no use for democracy, even bourgeois democracy. Small wonder that technocratic attacks on democracy should now find favour with big business.

A different way of tackling the problem of democracy and professionalism in government is indicated by socialist practice. The technological revolution is causing the volume and specialisation of managerial activity to increase. There are more things to manage, in more specialised ways. Professional forms of administration must be extensively developed within the framework of socialist democracy. In dealing with the problem of professionalism and the masses' participation in government, socialism is immeasurably superior to the capitalist system. Socialist society, in which the principle of the masses'

participation in government is broadly applied, does everything to extend the democratic substance of professional government. There is no contradiction here, as under socialism everything is done in the interest of the masses, in the interest of man. All that society produces is done for the sake of man. That is why enlisting every working person in management and giving them the opportunity to display their talents and show what they can do is so important to the success of the cause bequeathed to us by the great Lenin.

Socialist democracy starts from the premise that every citizen's right to participate in decision-making cannot be made dependent on his property status, political experience or cultural refinement. To deny one this right on the grounds that he has had no administrative experience or lacks sufficient education, as some writers on democracy do in the West, is inhuman and impermissible.

Nevertheless, the actual opportunities for citizens' involvement directly depend on the state of the economy, culture and education. To make men active builders of their life, knowing how to operate the political control levers of society, the Party, state, and society as a whole must exert a long, systematic educational effort. The educational possibilities of socialist democracy are realised above all through citizens' extensive involvement in administration. First-hand political experience and knowledge are acquired by citizens as they take an immediate part in state bodies, public organisations, and various

kinds of social work. Lenin set great store by the political experience of the masses and knowledge acquired not from books and lectures but in the course of practical activities, along with administrative skills.

But ideological means are not all that is needed. Under developed socialism, the working people have a greater role to play in making and carrying out government decisions. Citizens contribute more to concrete decision-making. In the course of social regulation, it becomes necessary to poll opinions, hold consultations and obtain expert opinion. Collective forms of work are extensively used, along with one-man management, and imply the individual responsibility of everyone taking part in the decision-making. Consequently, not only does socialism recognise citizens' right to take part in public affairs, but it also enables them in the process of government to gain political experience and become skilled in applying it in concrete circumstances.

Citizens' participation in administering the socialist state is also ensured by the democratic character of civil service, by equal access to all offices, including executive posts, in the machinery of state. It is important in this respect to approach officials, as Lenin demanded, 'a) from the standpoint of honesty, b) from the political standpoint, c) business qualifications, d) executive capacity'.¹ Paramount importance

¹ V. I. Lenin, 'Telegram to N. M. Knipovich', *Collected Works*, Vol. 45, Moscow, 1976, p. 243.

is attached to having all sectors of party, government, economic, cultural, educational, and social work managed by politically mature, competent and able organisers. The complicated tasks that emerge in the course of building socialism and communism require executive personnel to have a complete mastery of modern management methods, to have a sense of the new, to take a long-term view of things to find efficient ways of dealing with problems and to make use of the experience and knowledge of others. 'The modern leader,' said L. I. Brezhnev, must organically combine within himself the party approach and well-grounded competence, a sense of high discipline and initiative, and a creative approach to his work. At the same time, in every sector the leader must take account of the socio-political and educational aspects, be sensitive to the needs and requirements of people, and set an example in work and in everyday life.¹² One important principle underlying the selection and placement of executive personnel in state bodies and public organisations is that these cadres are constantly renewed, while at the same time the continuity of leadership is preserved. Great importance is also attached to maintaining a proper balance between old and young officials. As for the selection, placement and training of personnel, these are regulated by a number of democratic institutions, such as competition for executive jobs, regular proficiency check-ups, further training programmes, and so on.

¹² *Documents and Resolutions, XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p. 85.

On the strength of the experience gained in building the socialist state system, Lenin repeatedly stressed that enlisting the masses on an ever larger scale in the administration of society and the state did not dispense with the need for establishing a rigorous system of personal responsibility and executive discipline. He wrote: '...on the one hand, discussions and the airing of questions at public meetings, and, on the other hand, the establishment of strictest responsibility for executive functions and absolutely business-like, disciplined, voluntary fulfilment of the assignments and decrees necessary for the economic mechanism to function really like clockwork.' Collective bodies exercise constant supervision over the executive performance of their personnel (accountability, supervision and control, different kinds of liability, etc.). Execution of decisions by organisations and individuals is also ensured through the efforts of official and social control bodies. These include, in the first place, the *system of people's control* in the socialist countries. People's control bodies draw into their activities the broad mass of the working people. Members of people's control committees and people's inspectors carry out a wide range of duties, checking on state and social bodies from the standpoint of the interests of the people as a whole.

In the exercise of control, an important role belongs to citizens' activity, awareness and responsibility

¹³ V. I. Lenin, 'Original Version of the Article "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government"', *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, Moscow, 1965, p. 211.

for the affairs of society and the state. Every citizen who comes into contact in daily life with various bodies, organisations and officials *may send in applications and make suggestions for the improvement of their work and elimination of shortcomings*. Officials must examine citizens' proposals and applications, reply to them and take the necessary measures within the time-limit established by the law. Persecution for criticism is prohibited. The legal rules effective in socialist countries protect the interests of such citizens, contain the necessary legal guarantees, and provide for a speedy and unbiased examination of their proposals.

The various *mass media* (the press, radio and television) must raise the effectiveness of *public control over the executive system*. By subjecting to public judgement questions about shortcomings and proposals for their elimination (as letter departments and appropriate departments of the radio and television service do), the mass media help social problems to be dealt with correctly and in good time. Much attention is paid in the socialist countries to the study of the role and to further development of the mass media.

Socialist society provides every opportunity for extensive involvement of the working people in state and social administration. In every socialist community country an effective system of education has been set up, which is characterised by free tuition, universal compulsory primary or secondary education of youth, broad development of vocational, specialised

secondary and higher education, a ramified system of vocational guidance and provision of opportunities for self-education. Socialist society has given full scope to the growth of the cultural level of the masses, which extends the possibilities for the development of socialist democracy.

The development of democracy is aimed at raising the material well-being of society.

One important material condition for making democracy real is *working people's free time*. In the socialist countries, measures have been carried out associated with the introduction of a five-day working week, longer leaves, and so on. In most of the socialist countries, men may retire at 60 and women at 55, while some categories of workers may retire much earlier than that. Retired workers who are not yet old take an active part in social life, doing much work in mass organisations.

Great attention is attached by the party to keeping the working people politically informed about the activities of government, administrative and economic management bodies. Well-organised political information work provides the basis for involving the working people in government.

The socialist system of information is not confined merely to bringing certain facts and events to citizens' notice, but the explanation of different aspects and phenomena and of their social significance, and an analysis of the substance and appearance of facts. This rules out the spreading of unfounded rumours and manipulation of public opinion.

The development of socialist democracy also implies a growth in the influence of public opinion, which is increasingly being studied and applied by state and public organisations in their practical work. In this area, too, socialist countries are looking for new forms. The idea is to improve the methods of shaping public opinion under socialism and to enhance the guarantees of free expression by citizens of their opinion on matters of social and national significance.

What takes place under socialism is the drawing together of the state and public forms of democracy, which have the same purpose, viz., to involve all citizens in government and develop their political independence. In a *historical perspective*, this process will lead to the withering away of the state and development of communist public self-government. In the present period of development of socialist society, however, the state is called upon to deal with the important and necessary tasks of government. Attention must therefore be paid mainly to *developing the state forms of democracy jointly with those of public government*.

Representative and direct democracy under socialism. Under socialism the people is vested with absolute power. At every stage of its development, the socialist state expresses the interests of the mass of the working people, carrying out the people's will through a system of representative bodies of government.

The emergence of forms of representative and direct democracy depends on the nature of the working people's participation in government and the po-

litical life of society and the state. In the course of state development, there has arisen a new, socialist organisation of political representation, which provides for the implementation of the tasks of socialist and communist construction. It is the system of Soviets of People's Deputies which form the political groundwork of the state in the USSR; Councils in Hungary; People's Councils in Bulgaria; People's Representative Bodies in the GDR; National Committees in Czechoslovakia, and so on. Representative bodies of government deal with all principal matters of state, economic, social and cultural development, and make decisions taking into account the experience of the masses and reflecting as much as possible the working people's initiatives. The party attaches tremendous importance to further improving the entire system of popular representation and to raising the role of its bodies in every area. Simultaneously, the scope of direct democracy is being steadily increased.

Direct democracy allows citizens to take part personally in the framing, adoption and carrying out of decisions of significance to the state and society through a direct expression of will by persons concerned. Such forms of democracy are successfully applied in small social groups (e.g., a production team, workshop house, street, and village meeting), i.e., wherever it is possible for every man and woman to take an immediate part in tackling problems of common concern.

The communist and workers' parties in the social-

ist countries spare no efforts to make the socialist representative system function in the most democratic way possible.

People's representative bodies are formed on broad democratic principles, through *democratic elections*. The constitutions and laws of the socialist countries ensure citizens the right to elect and be elected. Under the new Soviet Constitution, adopted in October 1977, citizens may be elected to Soviets from the age of 18, and to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, from the age of 21. All voters take part in elections on an equal footing, each citizen having one vote, without any formal restrictions or qualifications.

Much attention is paid to the organisation of elections, so as to enable all citizens to take an active part in forming representative bodies and exercising control over their activities.

Elections are held on the basis of cooperation between the communist party and other parties, mass organisations and broad sections of the working people, in accordance with a jointly elaborated election programme. Such programmes take into account the results of election meetings and conferences, and express the aims and interests of society as a whole. Election programmes are broadly supported by the working people, which accounts for more voters turning out at the polls and being more interested in the implementation of the proposed objectives than is the case in the capitalist countries.

The socialist representative system expresses both the interests of society as a whole and local interests.

A *deputy* is directly in touch with his *constituents*. This contact is constantly enhanced, owing to the fact that in many socialist countries candidates are nominated individually, not by lists, and that the activities of elected deputies are legally regulated under laws on the status of deputies. Each candidate is thoroughly discussed at election meetings. In some socialist countries, candidates may be nominated at constituents' meetings. An important part in the organisation and preparation of elections is played by different mass political organisations of the working people. They have the right to freely and comprehensively discuss candidates' political and personal qualities and competence, and to campaign for them at meetings, in the press, and on television and radio. The elected bodies of state authority closely reflect the actual social pattern of society. In the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, for instance, 51.1 per cent of the deputies are industrial workers and collective farmers. Workers and peasants account for 44.6 and 13.6 per cent respectively of the deputies elected in 1975 to the National Assembly of Hungary; and the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic consists of 27.7 per cent of workers and 29.3 per cent of members of agricultural associations. There are 235 workers and 60 peasants among the 500 deputies to the People's Chamber of the GDR. Representatives of these friendly classes make up a majority in local government as well.

Under the election laws in some socialist countries, not one but several candidates can be nominated in

a constituency, and in some cases indirect elections may be held, as in the Hungarian People's Republic.

The laws of the socialist countries amply provide for *constant and close contact between voters and deputies*. Deputies report back to the constituents, the latter give them mandates, constant contact is maintained and meetings are held between deputies and voters, deputies' groups exist, the relations between deputies and voters are legally regulated, and rules of recall are provided.

In the USSR, relations between deputies and voters and the status of a deputy are regulated under the Law on the Status of Deputies (1972). As plenipotentiary representatives of the people in the Soviets, deputies are invested with a wide range of powers necessary to the exercise of state authority. The status of a deputy is determined on the basis of the following principles:

- 1) the further enhancement of the prestige of deputies as plenipotentiary representatives of the people in the Soviets;
- 2) the combining of the deputy's governmental activity with his regular work in production and other fields;
- 3) enhancement of contact between a deputy and his constituents, and of his accountability and responsibility to them;
- 4) provision by the state of conditions for the exercise of a deputy's powers;
- 5) intensification of deputies' activities in constituencies;

6) enhancement of the basic guarantees of deputies' activities;

7) immunity of deputies to Supreme Soviets and local Soviets.

Socialist law stresses that it is the duty of deputies to dedicate themselves to the cause of building socialism and communism.

The Law on the Status of Deputies in the USSR and relevant legal rules in other socialist countries serve the principal aims of democracy, proceeding from the premise that a deputy should be increasingly dependent on his constituents, but that at the same time deputies' influence in every area of government should increase. That is why deputies are assisted in every way by state and public bodies.

Elections in socialist countries are a remarkable demonstration of citizens' political activity. At election meetings, they not only exchange opinions and ideas about the candidate concerned, but discuss social problems, local needs, and the problems of the economic, social and cultural development of the country as a whole. They make numerous valuable suggestions, which must be examined by official bodies within the time limits fixed by the law. Newly elected representative bodies often include problems raised at meetings of voters in their programmes and plans of work.

Socialist representative bodies are an expression of the people's sovereignty. They are genuine bodies of people's power. All other state bodies are accountable to them and are under their control. Apart from

making laws, the people's representative bodies, being in constant contact with their constituents, also take part in the execution of their decisions, mainly by directing the executive branch and by exercising control over executive activities.

Much attention is paid in the USSR to extending such democratic principles underlying the Soviets' work as: a) regular reporting back by Soviets and their deputies to constituents, and the right of the latter to recall deputies who fail to justify their confidence; b) publicity, free and all-round discussion at Soviet sessions of all major matters of state economic and cultural development; c) regular accountability by all-levels of executive government bodies at Soviet sessions; d) checking of the performance of these bodies and exercise of control over their activities; e) systematic discussion by Soviets of questions raised by deputies; and f) criticism of shortcomings in the work of government, economic and other organisations.

There have emerged varied forms of direct involvement of the masses in the work of representative bodies of state authority, such as citizens' participation in standing commissions, non-staff departments of executive committees, public committees, and so on. In 1977, the local Soviets in the USSR had 330,270 standing commissions, comprising 1,790,780 deputies. The Soviet-sponsored bodies comprise almost 30 million active members. Practically one in six or seven Soviet citizens is drawn into the work of the Soviets. The local People's Representative Bodies in the GDR

have 51,763 commissions, enlisting the participation of 358,189 deputies and activists. In Bulgaria, 53,817 men and women take part in the standing commissions of the People's Councils.

In accordance with established principles, functioning along with the representative bodies is a system of state bodies which concern themselves with organising executive and administrative work in specific fields or territorial units. State bodies—within their fields of competence, immediately or mediate—are subordinate, through the central bodies of their system, to the people's representative bodies.

A number of important measures aimed at improving the functioning of representative bodies and promoting the development of representative democracy have been effected in the socialist countries in recent years. Legislation is being improved.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union initiated a series of measures to improve the work of village, district, and town and city Soviets, enhance their control over the executive and administrative bodies, and ensure closer coordination in the work of all enterprises and institutions in their territory, irrespective of what department they may be subordinate to. The rights of local Soviets have been extended and clearly defined, their competence increased, their material facilities enhanced, and the funds for financing the local economy, social and cultural amenities and services increased.

The activities of representative bodies of power

have been essentially reorganised in some socialist countries, while in Cuba a system of such bodies was set up for the first time. In the 1970s, new laws were passed on Councils in Hungary (1971), local People's Representative Bodies in the GDR (1973), People's Councils in Bulgaria (1972) and Romania (1976). Thanks to measures undertaken on the initiative of the communist and workers' parties in the socialist countries, their systems of representative bodies have been notably built up and broad prospects of development have been opened to them.

Simultaneously with representative democracy, forms and institutions of direct democracy are successfully developing in the socialist countries. One major manifestation of direct democracy are citizens' election meetings, already referred to above, which are broad forums of constituents nominating candidates and discussing the nominees, and constituents' meetings at which deputies report on their work. The constitutions and legislation of the socialist countries provide for such institutions of direct democracy—which are often realised in practice—as nationwide polls (referendums) and nationwide discussions, to which major matters of national importance are subjected. The nationwide discussion of the draft Soviet Constitution, for example, went on for almost four months, involving more than 140 millions citizens or over 80 per cent of the adult population of the Soviet Union. The thoroughly democratic nature of nationwide discussions and referendums is manifested in the fact that they make it possible for the working

people to state their will directly when discussing decisions intended to express the interests of the people.

Socialist forms of direct democracy play an important role, above all, in framing decisions and in verifying their execution.

One important form of contact between local government bodies and the population are meetings at citizens' places of work and residence. At these meetings officials inform citizens about the major measures concerning the district and hear their opinions and suggestions on the problems raised. A system of village meetings was formed in the Soviet Union and became a major foundation of Soviet rule in the countryside.

In Hungary, documents containing information about the work of village councils must be submitted to village meetings. In Poland, village meetings elect elders. Similar institutions (citizens' councils or committees) also exist in Czechoslovakia and Romania. Among the direct forms of citizens' involvement in social life are also a network of activists helping local councils, housing committees, the voluntary militia, the workers' militia, people's control commissions, and democratic forums convened at places of employment.

Development of democracy in socialist production. The sphere of production, namely the work collectives, is an exceedingly important sector of the development of socialist democracy. Through the work collective, a worker becomes a part of the overall

system of economic, political and ideological relationships.

New forms of democracy have arisen which reflect the specific features of individual production units of socialist society. Thus, we can speak of democracy in factories and colleges, of cooperative, collective-farm democracy, and so on.

The forms of democracy that have become established in the sphere of production favour the increasingly leading role of the working class and help the workers develop a sense of being the masters of their own enterprise and a responsible attitude to their work.

The system of democracy in the sphere of production is planned to draw workers into running the affairs of the production unit of society to which they belong. Work collectives afford every opportunity for each worker to take a personal part in the discussion and solution of economic problems. Such forms of democracy as production meetings, at which fundamental questions are considered, have proved to be highly effective.

One distinctive feature of the current stage of development of democracy in the sphere of production is that it is associated with a number of serious practical measures to raise the economic and legal independence of enterprises, extend their rights, and increase their responsibility for the results of their work. These measures are expected not only to yield a definite economic effect, but also to produce a perfect, democratic form of running production.

Democracy in production is conducive to better organisation of production activities, effective fulfilment of the national economic plans, and better quality. It is clear that at socialist enterprises, too, production, labour and technological discipline is strictly observed, working time is standardised, and the principle of one-man management is exercised in each economic unit. In the process of production, organised work plays the decisive role, and the democratic forms ensuing from the workers' role as the masters of the enterprise are developed.

Work collectives which take part in running the enterprises are given an opportunity to make decisions on various matters relating to the organisation of work and everyday life and disposal of the funds earmarked for the development of production as well as for the satisfaction of social and cultural needs and the payment of bonuses.

Through production meetings and councils of team leaders and shop foremen, through the socialist emulation movement and the work conducted by trade union bodies and activists, workers are drawn into framing decisions concerning production seeing to their efficient implementation and checking their execution. At different levels of production meetings, the economic objectives to be achieved by shops, enterprises, etc., are specified. As they put forward proposals, make criticisms and undertake obligations, work collectives and individual workers promote the formation of effective methods of dealing with economic problems. Democratic forms of running production

are effective at all levels and in all parts of the system of economic management—in industries, associations and enterprises.

Much is also being done by public organisations functioning within the framework of individual work collectives. Trade union bodies send their representatives to directors' councils and take part in economic decision-making. Apart from that, trade union bodies, exercising their broad rights, represent and defend workers' collective and individual interests. The rights enjoyed by the trade unions in socialist society may be divided into three large groups.

First, they have the right to *express opinion and display initiative* in dealing with all key problems of the enterprise, problems concerning the executive personnel and economic activities.

Second, in certain cases, mainly questions immediately concerned with workers' interests, viz., wages, bonuses and awards, the consent of trade union committees is required.

Third, within their terms of authority the trade unions themselves decide on how to expend the enterprise's social and cultural fund to fill the workers' leisure time, organise cultural and athletic activities, and so on. In order to satisfy more fully the workers' material, cultural and intellectual requirements and ensure the all-round development of the individual, *social development plans* began to be worked out for enterprises in the Soviet Union in addition to economic plans. The main purpose of social planning is to combine the advantages of the technological revolu-

tion with those of the socialist economic system and to achieve a steady rise in the people's living standards.

Social development plans, which comprise a scientifically founded and materially guaranteed system of measures, tie in enterprises' technical and economic indicators with social development targets. In this way, favourable conditions are provided for increasing efficiency in production, making labour more operative, introducing scientific organisation of labour, and streamlining the management of production processes.

The active and creative participation of the masses in the preparation and implementation of social development plans marks the emergence of a new form of socialist democracy.

In socialist countries, public bodies, trade unions in particular, also enjoy important rights of *control*, e.g., in providing for labour safety, and so on.

The forms of direct democracy in production enable the work collectives and public organisations functioning in their context to take part in *shaping the socialist consciousness and raising the educational standards of workers, and forming and building up socialist traits in the individual*.

Besides their functions of improving production and expressing the workers' interests, the democratic institutions successfully pursue the aims of moulding socialist consciousness and promoting the all-round development of workers' personalities. The forms of democracy in production facilitate managers' effec-

tive exercise of their rights, promoting the formation of a type of manager dedicated to serving the interests of society, the people. In this sense, democracy in production is a real school of communism for all workers.

At secondary and higher education schools, students, through their organisations, can express their opinions and make suggestions, agree with or make their own decisions (e.g., in the distribution of scholarship grants). They have the right to express their point of view on major academic and extracurricular matters. At universities and colleges, students are represented in the highest administrative bodies, such as university and department councils.

Democracy in cooperative organisations has attained great scope in the socialist countries.

The extent, forms and methods of cooperative, collective-farm democracy is basically the same in all branches—in agricultural cooperatives, collective farms, producers' and consumers' cooperatives. Still, the social and economic purposes of some kinds of cooperative associations, their level of development, and the extent to which their members are interested in their operations result in different and distinctive forms of democracy.

State agencies may intervene in the affairs of a cooperative only to the extent and in the ways provided for by the law.

The state legally guarantees cooperative and collective-farm self-government, its exercise in practice. The socialist countries regulate the key activities of these

organisations and provide legal guarantees for their successful economic and other activities.

Democracy in cooperatives and at collective farms consists in the fact that cooperative boards and members have the right to deal with all problems relating to their organisation and operation in the manner provided for by the law, on the basis of collective discussion and democratic procedure.

The laws of the socialist countries relating to cooperatives and collective farms, as well as cooperative rules, contain and guarantee rigorous rules as to the ways in which cooperative members may fulfil their interests. The highest and principal body of management of a cooperative, enjoying certain exclusive rights, is the general meeting.

The practice of the socialist cooperative movement has proved that the role of general meetings is and must be increased not merely through extending their competence.

The competence of the general meeting as a direct form of democracy must include only the more essential matters relating to the cooperative's activities as a whole. Important functions are also performed by such forms of democracy in cooperatives as collective executive bodies, boards, the management and different commissions. The management of a cooperative is responsible for the efficiency of its economic activities. In view of greater political and economic demands made on cooperatives, the management plays an increasing role in dealing with social and economic problems.

The competence of the management extends to the internal organisation of labour, determined by the requirements and targets of economic activity. *The right to take decisions on key problems belongs to the cooperative's elected bodies.*

The steady development of the system of democratic institutions in cooperatives and collective farms helps to harmonise social cooperative and personal interests and provides for the dynamic and balanced economic functioning of cooperatives and the growth of their members' incomes and living standards.

The basic rights and duties of citizens. Exercise of the socialist rule of law. The system of citizens' rights, freedoms, and duties is one of the graphic indicators of the democracy of the socialist social system, of its truly humane nature. Under socialism, citizens enjoy a wide range of rights and are guaranteed opportunities for free creative work. Socialist society is the first in human history to make the concept of human rights universal as it extends to society as a whole. The rising bourgeoisie made citizens' rights and freedoms one of the political slogans under which it opposed feudalism. The bourgeoisie was to be made 'free' and 'equal' in the sphere of economic relations. The serfs and artisans were to be 'emancipated' and made 'equal' to enable the capitalists freely to buy their labour power. Private property was to be proclaimed sacred and inviolable so as to provide legal guarantees of the freedom of private ownership, which meant legalised freedom of capitalist exploitation. The socialist revolution has altered the class

meaning of fundamental rights, extended their range, and most important of all, made them real to the masses.

Under socialism, the basic rights and freedoms of citizens are filled with a new social content. The right to exploit other people has been abolished. In order to enjoy rights, every able-bodied citizen must, above all, personally contribute to the creation of national wealth. Work is the foundation of life under socialism, and human rights in socialist society are essentially the rights of a working person.

In the socialist countries, the basic rights of citizens are enlarged. The greatest significance is attached here to socio-economic, political and individual rights. They are indispensable from the standpoint of socialist development.

The legal guarantees of the interests and requirements of citizens which can be satisfied on the basis of the successful functioning of the socialist economic system, collectivist organisation of labour, and the socialist political system are greatly enlarged. In socialist society, measures are taken to extend the existing system of rights, particularly the basic constitutional political and individual rights, the efforts undertaken by the whole of society to improve the people's living standards finding their fullest expression in the further extension of socio-economic rights and freedoms. Precisely these rights are a consistent and graphic expression of the value of emancipated labour in socialist society. In the new Soviet Constitution, the range of citizens' socio-economic rights has

been greatly enlarged. Soviet citizens are guaranteed the right to health protection, the right to enjoy cultural benefits, and freedom of scientific, technical, and artistic work.

Besides establishing the rights and freedoms of citizens, the constitutions of the socialist countries provide guarantees to enable their actual exercise by all working people. The socialist system ensures the extension of the rights and freedoms of citizens and a steady improvement of their living standards as social, economic, and cultural development programmes are fulfilled.

The socialist countries guarantee the rights and freedoms provided by law to *all citizens of other countries residing on their territory*, including the protection of their personal property, family, and other rights.

The socialist constitutions establish the principle of uniformity of the *rights and duties of citizens*. Exercise of their rights and freedoms by citizens is inseparable from the performance of their duties and obligations.

It is the duty of the socialist state to ensure the maintenance of law and order and protect the interests of society and the rights of citizens. This duty of the state and its agencies essentially expresses the nature of the socialist social system and the character of the legal regulation of social relations under socialism.

In socialist society, every citizen enjoys the right to work, that is, to guaranteed employment, and pay in accordance with the quantity and quality of his

work, including the right to choose his trade or profession, type of job and work in accordance with his inclinations, abilities, training and education, with due account of the needs of society. There is no unemployment in the socialist countries. The state provides jobs for all able-bodied citizens.

The demand for labour in the economy keeps increasing, large building projects are launched, new plants and factories are commissioned, the network of scientific research centres and cultural and service establishments is expanded. The state sets out to improve working conditions and to reduce, and eventually abolish, arduous manual labour through complete mechanisation and automation of production.

Another major socio-economic right—the *right to rest and leisure*—is ensured by exact regulation of working time (e.g., in the USSR a working week not exceeding 41 hours has been established for workers and other employees), the provision of paid annual leaves, weekly days of rest, extension of the network of cultural, educational and health-building institutions, and the development on a mass scale of sport, physical culture, and camping and tourism. State bodies and public organisations, especially the trade unions, provide opportunities for wholesome leisure for members of work collectives, as well as neighbourhood recreational facilities. All the conditions are provided for rational use of free time.

Under socialism, man is valued above all things. The state spares no efforts to protect citizens' health, granting them appropriate rights. Citizens' right to

health protection is ensured by qualified medical care provided by state health institutions; by the development and improvement of safety and hygiene in industry; by extending the network of medical and health-building establishments; by carrying out prophylactic measures and measures to improve the environment; and by developing research to prevent and reduce disease and ensure citizens a long and active life.

The prophylactic measures carried out by the state deserve particular mention. Every worker is instructed in safety rules which are rigorously enforced, regular medical check-ups are conducted at all places of employment, there are special guarantees of the labour rights of women, teenagers, and so on.

All those engaged in the economy and their families enjoy free medical care (including hospital treatment). Workers are paid sickness benefits and many other kinds of benefits (maternity benefits, etc.).

The funds from which these needs are met are formed mostly of payments contributed by industrial and other establishments.

In socialist countries, citizens broadly avail themselves of *the right to maintenance in old age, in sickness, and in the event of complete or partial disability or loss of the breadwinner.*

This right is guaranteed by the social insurance of workers and other employees; by the provision of retirement pensions, disability pensions, and pensions in the event of loss of the breadwinner and allowances for temporary disability; employment for the partially

disabled; and care for the elderly and the disabled who have no relatives to look after them.

Citizens also enjoy other kinds of social insurance, such as diverse privileges, which are increasing in number and scope. So, for instance, family allowances have been introduced; large families are the first to be given new housing. There are special kinds of social security for mothers of young children. In Hungary, Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries, a mother may stay away from her job to look after her child until it is three years old, receiving a monthly allowance from the state.

The Soviet Union is the first country in the world to proclaim citizens' right to housing, which is ensured ever more fully by the development and maintenance of state and socially-owned housing and by government assistance in cooperative and individual house building. Homes are being produced on a steadily larger scale. In 1936, 14.9 million square metres of floor space were built in the USSR, and in 1977, more than 110 million. Rents in the USSR are low (the highest is 14 kopeks per square metre of floor space) and stable; they have not essentially changed since 1928.

The socialist countries guarantee their citizens *the right to education.* This right is of a much wider range than in bourgeois society. It is filled with a new social content and is ensured by the greatest possible development of the system of secondary education and of vocational, specialised secondary, and higher education. With the abolition of the exploiters' mono-

poly of education, the socialist system has provided real opportunities for every citizen to receive an education. Primary and secondary education is free, and not only a right but a duty. Students pursuing a secondary and higher education receive regular grants from the state. They are provided with a number of other services, such as hostels and meals, at very low charges. There are diverse cultural and educational establishments—libraries, clubs, Houses of Culture, and so on—which offer opportunities for independent study. The state extensively promotes the development of art and science and the raising of the educational and cultural level of the masses.

A principle which is carried out consistently in socialist society is that of the equal rights of women and men, and of all citizens, regardless of their origin, social or property status, race or nationality, education, language, attitude to religion, type and nature of occupation, domicile, or other status.

The equality of women and men is ensured by according them equal access to education and vocational and professional training, equal opportunities in employment, remuneration and promotion, and in social, political and cultural activities, and by special labour and health protection measures for women; by legal protection, and material and moral support for mothers and children, including paid leaves and other benefits for expectant mothers and mothers; and by government assistance to unmarried mothers.

In the socialist state the church is separated from the state, and religion is the private concern of every

man and woman. Not a single religion is put in a privileged position with relation to any other.

The equality of nations and nationalities finds expression in different forms of the state structure. Any direct or indirect limitation of the rights of citizens or establishment of direct or indirect privileges on the grounds of race or nationality, and any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness, hostility or contempt are punishable by law.

With respect to political rights and freedoms, in the socialist countries broad guarantees are provided for the right of citizens to take part in the management and administration of state and public affairs. This right is ensured by the opportunity to vote and to be elected to representative bodies of state authority and to take part in the discussion and drafting of laws of national and local significance, in the work of state bodies and cooperative and other public organisations, in people's control over their activities, in the management of production and the affairs of work collectives, and in meetings at places of residence.

In accordance with the 1977 Constitution of the USSR, every Soviet citizen has the right to submit proposals to state bodies and public organisations for improving their activity, and to criticise shortcomings in their work. Citizens have the right to lodge complaints with state bodies and public organisations against the actions of officials. Actions by officials that contravene the law, exceed their powers or infringe upon the rights of citizens, may be appealed against

in court in the manner prescribed by law. The purpose of these constitutional provisions is to supply additional guarantees of citizens' active participation in politics, in state and public affairs.

The socialist state guarantees citizens *freedom of speech, of the press, and of assembly, meetings, personal immunity, freedom of conscience, and freedom of religion*. The political freedoms of citizens are exercised with substantial material support from the state, which guarantees them and simultaneously does not allow them to be used to the detriment of the rule of the working people. With the disappearance of the exploiting classes and their vestiges, political freedoms have an increasing role to play in the operation of the entire political mechanism. This puts to the fore the task of further enlarging citizens' rights and freedoms of a political nature, and of enhancing their guarantees.

The activity of all bodies of the socialist state is *regulated exactly, in legal terms*. Socialist law determines the place and role (the purposes and competence) of individual state bodies, and guarantees protection of the rights of citizens. State bodies and individual citizens must determine their aims and conduct in conformity with the requirements of the *socialist rule of law*. *Free observance of the laws* by individual citizens and organisations plays an ever greater role in the implementation of legal rules in socialist society; this naturally does not exclude the existence of means of enforcing them by the state.

Socialist law and order and the socialist rule of law

are notions closely linked with each other. Steady development of socialist law and order, improvement of the work of state bodies, and enhancement of their ties with citizens are indispensable to the exercise of socialist legality.

The first important area of the exercise of socialist legality is *legislation*. Under socialism, bodies of state authority invested with the function of adopting, publishing, codifying and propagating legal rules strive to make them *clear and comprehensible* to all citizens. In the socialist countries, a number of collections of laws, supplied with commentary, have been published.

The rule of law in the area of the administration of law is expressed in the requirement to establish the objective truth and exclude local or any other external influences on the work of the bodies which apply the law, such as the courts and the Procurator's Office.

The concept of legality in the broad sense implies that not only state bodies, but citizens as well, should obey and comply with the law and abide by the decisions of state bodies, adopted in conformity with legal rules. Safeguarding public interests, the bodies of the socialist state consistently come out against all those who break or defy the law.

One important guarantee of the maintenance of the socialist rule of law is that the laws in socialist society and the activities of different state bodies express the common interests of the working people. This opens up broad prospects for the development of socialist law and order.

SOCIALIST HUMANISM. MOULDING THE NEW MAN

Besides changes in the external, *objective* world, the socialist programme of social development also determines the direction of change in the *subjective* world, relating to the individual. This programme envisages a harmonious combination of social and individual values.

Social development programmes in the socialist countries take into account all that helps to mould a new type of man and is conducive to the all-round development of the individual.

Socialism implies a fundamental change in the individual's position in society. The elimination of class antagonisms and of unemployment have resulted in the growth of the individual's social security, human dignity, and civil stature.

The Marxist-Leninist parties of the socialist countries set out to ensure that the growth of the material well-being of society and the individual is accompanied by citizens' ideological, ethical, and cultural development. For this reason, the problems of ideological education occupy a prominent place in the activity of the Marxist-Leninist parties of all socialist com-

munity countries. The core of ideological education, aimed at moulding a man of a new type, is the assimilation of Marxist-Leninist theory.

In socialist society, the ideological and moral qualities of the individual are shaped under the impact of the revolutionary changes in the social and state systems, on the basis of collectivist class relations, in the very course of the building of socialism and communism. One extremely important factor in personality formation in socialist society is the activity not only of party organisations, but also of trade unions, youth associations, cultural and educational establishments, and voluntary public associations.

1. Real Humanism: Prerequisites and Goals

The problems of man occupy a place of honour in Marxism-Leninism. As a scientific philosophy and revolutionary ideology, comprising a programme and methods for changing the world, Marxism-Leninism lays stress above all on knowledge of the laws and tendencies of society's development. Nevertheless, while explaining the workings of social processes and the class struggle, and showing the necessity and possibility of a victorious socialist revolution, Marxism-Leninism far from circumvents the problem of the individual. This approach follows from the humane nature of Marxism-Leninism and from its connection with life and social practice.

The starting point of Marxist analysis is no abstract man but man as a concrete individual living in the

real world. Marxism approaches man as a social being who is formed under definite economic and social conditions, with corresponding means of satisfying his material, cultural and intellectual requirements. Marx wrote: '... man is no abstract being encamped outside the world. Man is *the world of man*, the state, society'¹ and 'the essence of man is no abstraction inherent in each single individual. In its reality it is the ensemble of the social relations'.²

The socio-political activity of the individual under socialism is the basis of the *dignity and freedom* of man. The more actively he enters into social relationships, remaking and shaping reality, the more his social essence is revealed. A man's actions, performed for a social purpose, are the key to understanding the meaning and value of his individual life.

Man's practical activity contains the possibility of changing the *human* world, abolishing the still existing causes of human misery. To the despair and hopelessness which pervade contemporary bourgeois doctrines, Marxism-Leninism opposes its own doctrines, full of realistic optimism and hope, which rests on knowledge of man and his historical destinies.

This doctrine gives prominence to human action,

¹ Karl Marx, 'Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's "Philosophy of Law"', in: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 175.

² Karl Marx, 'Theses on Feuerbach', in: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, Moscow, 1976, p. 4.

to the significance of men's conscious activity. The latter particularly refers to the tasks of the socialist revolution, which took humanism out of the sphere of declarations into the sphere of real social change.

It would be hard today to name a philosophic trend or a socio-political ideology which omits to cite the more or less general 'humanist principles', defence of human rights, the 'ideals of man's emancipation', and so forth.

The only exceptions are some extremely reactionary ideologies, especially neo-fascist ones, proclaiming the concept of the 'end of humanism', and some ultra-left and terrorist trends, which describe humanism as a 'sentimental philistine ideology' and proclaim 'revolutionary anti-humanism'. These trends are, however, outside the mainstream of current ideological discussions on the concept of humanism and the ways of realising them.

It must be said at this point that humanist principles and practical conclusions can be presented in different ways.

One can mention in this connection the numerous interpretations of humanism in the spirit of philistine individualism, the apology of individual economic enterprise and enrichment at the expense of others, social egotism, the 'unrestricted play of political and economic forces', the anarchic 'protest' of the individual against all norms of social life. To these conceptions we oppose an idea of humanism which combines within itself the struggle for man's emancipation and the struggle for the emancipation of the working class

and abolition of exploitation of man by man in every shape and form, a humanism which combines within itself the ideals of man's emancipation and of the revolutionary class struggle for the establishment of such socio-economic patterns and forms as provide real opportunities for man's all-round development and the satisfaction of his material, cultural and intellectual requirements, his unlimited access to education, and his participation in public life and the management of social processes.

Simultaneously, what is important is not only what humanitarian aims are proclaimed, but also what the concrete methods of their implementation are.

The superiority of socialist humanism stems from the fact that it links the emancipation and development of the individual with the struggle for the elimination of diverse forms of human exploitation and alienation, as well as with the establishment of social relations which would endow man's labour and social and political activity with the features of free creative work. Socialism provides these conditions by transforming the old economic relations.

The superiority of socialist humanism also consists in the fact that it links the spread of culture and education and the growing involvement of the masses in the production of material, cultural and intellectual values with the provision of the corresponding material facilities indispensable to the attainment of society's objectives. Marxism-Leninism transfers its programme of revolutionary ethical, cultural and intellectual changes to the tangible soil of the social struggle

aimed at providing the material conditions necessary to its realisation.

This key feature of socialist humanism is based on the scientific principles of the Marxist theory of social development. Thus, socialist humanism—as a certain ideal of man's emancipation or as a strategy of the emancipation struggle—has its scientific foundation in Marxist-Leninist theory as a whole.

Every historically established society creates different objective conditions for the development of the individual. In antagonistic class societies, these conditions are different for the members of the privileged classes and the members of the exploited classes. Marx and Engels wrote: 'If the circumstances in which the individual lives allow him only the [one-] sided development of one quality at the expense of all the rest, [if] they give him the material and time to develop only that one quality, then this individual achieves only a one-sided, crippled development. No moral preaching avails here. And the manner in which this one pre-eminently favoured quality develops depends again, on the one hand, on the material available for its development and, on the other hand, on the degree and manner in which the other qualities are suppressed.'¹

In Marxism-Leninism, the realisation of the ideal of man's emancipation and development and the con-

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, 'The German Ideology', in: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, pp. 262-63.

ception of the life of the human individual are closely bound up with the struggle to provide the necessary social conditions. The ideal of emancipation itself, Marx stressed, appears when the social circumstances which make it necessary and the social forces which can make it real have already emerged.

We have noted already that the ideal of socialist society is the versatile and harmonious individual, vigorously involved in all spheres of public life, and simultaneously a responsible and cooperative member of the community.

To give embodiment to this ideal, it is necessary, however, to perform a social revolution that guarantees all working people optimal living conditions and gives them access to education and culture, to political and intellectual life. The socialist revolution makes it possible to create conditions in which man can develop more comprehensively and integrally, and not one-sidedly, and which make individuals more responsible for their actions.

An individual can finally set himself free from inhuman social relations not by individual protest or by trying to keep aloof, to separate himself from society's interests, as is often the case in bourgeois society. Such freedom is merely illusory. Trying to overcome in one's own mind the 'false values of this world' is an illusory act divorced from reality, from a proper understanding of reality.

The antagonism between private and 'general interests' which puzzles many bourgeois theoreticians is a product of history and, like all products of histo-

ry, is of a passing nature. Essentially, it conceals the conflict between the exploiters and the exploited.

When the product of human labour is estranged from the immediate producer, the individual feels isolated from society and senses that something, which really is the interest of the ruling class, is being opposed to his own interest and imposed as the 'general interest of the state' or society. Communists 'are distinguished precisely by the fact that they alone have *discovered* that throughout history the "general interest" is created by individuals who are defined as "private persons". They know that this contradiction is only a *seeming* one because one side of it, what is called the "general interest", is constantly being produced by the other side, private interest, and in relation to the latter it is by no means an independent force with an independent history—so that this contradiction is in practice destroyed and reproduced'.¹

The socialist revolution results in the gradual emergence of real harmony between personality development and the development of society, both on the economic plane, through cooperation of immediate producers on the basis of common ownership, and in the social sphere, through the provision of conditions for the active and responsible influence of individuals on the life of society. Public control by individuals over every area of the life of society is of essential significance. 'All-round dependence, this primary nat-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

ural form of the world-historical co-operation of individuals, will be transformed by this communist revolution into the control and conscious mastery of these powers, which, born of the action of men on one another, have till now overawed and ruled men as powers completely alien to them.¹

Man under socialism is a socially active, conscious individual, possessing a sense of responsibility for the fortunes of the community, capable of intelligently estimating the circumstances in which he has to act, and entertaining no religious or semi-religious illusions about his destiny.

It is essential to the formation of such individuals that social conditions should be present under which the interests of the development of society do not clash with the interests of the development of individuals, and which provide for the development of all values and talents for the common good. That is why the Marxist conception of a 'real community' implies not egalitarianism but the flowering of the individual; not passivity but activity and socialisation of individuals; not self-seeking egoism but responsibility and self-discipline. The illusory community in which individuals have up till now combined always took on an independent existence in relation to them, and since it was the combination of one class over against another, it was at the same time for the oppressed class not only a completely illusory community, but a new fetter as well. In the real community

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

the individuals obtain their freedom in and through their association.²

2. Principles of Socialist Morality, *The Human Ideal in the Age of Socialism*

The typical features of socialist morality are deep ideological commitment, creativity and humanism. Ideological commitment is manifested in the assimilation of working-class ideology, a scientific materialist perception of the world, and an active life, particularly conscious participation in running public affairs. Humanism, which is the starting point of socialist morality, is recognised as the supreme moral value, the supreme good.

Under socialism, man's ethicalness, happiness, dignity and freedom are the basis of all moral standards. Viewed from this standpoint, man is the yardstick of all values. All is moral that is conducive to man's all-round development. This conception is counterposed to the doctrines instilling contempt and hatred for people.

The principal ethical foundation of socialism can be completely understood only in the context of the dialectical materialist theory of man and history. Proceeding from this theory, the concept of man is no abstraction with an invented, once and for all given 'essence'. In Marxist ethics, the concept denotes concrete, living people, acting in concrete class and his-

² *Ibid.*, p. 78.

torical circumstances and having definite wants and interests. From this it follows that man, each real, specific individual, is the main social value. This does not refer to any select groups or classes, but to the mass of the working people. The source of moral values is not the individual withdrawn into himself; they are produced by men in concrete work communities.

Socialist morality, like any other, is of a historical character. The historical character of this morality is that it develops simultaneously with the political and economic development of socialist society.

With the transition to socialism, this morality is transformed into communist morality. Also, like any other morality in history, it has a class character.

The class character of socialist morality is seen from the fact that it is a denial of the moral principles and attitudes born of private property, which are cultivated by the exploiting classes or imposed by them on the working people, viz., egoism, pursuit of private rather than public interest, greed, enmity towards others, pursuit of material gain in preference to all moral values, and so on.

Besides criticism of the anti-humanitarian nature of the system of private ownership, exploitation, inequality, social injustice and aggressiveness, the socialist ethical views also include the ideal of a classless society, as well as the moral justification of revolution and the demand for active involvement on the part of the working people in building the new society and for their unity. Lenin saw the meaning of communist morality to lie in fighting capitalism and

working for the building of communism. He wrote: 'We say: morality is what serves to destroy the old exploiting society and to unite all the working people around the proletariat, which is building up a new, communist society.'

'Communist morality is that which serves this struggle and unites the working people against all exploitation, against all petty private property. . . .'¹ This principle, closely linked with the humane aims of socialism and humanitarian nature of Marxist-Leninist ethical ideals, is still fully relevant today.

Its class character is merely one aspect of socialist morality. Its other aspect, which is equally essential, is that it extends to all mankind. This is due to the fact that the ideals of socialist ethics concern the future of mankind, have to do with ridding human relations of all that holds back human progress and breeds suffering and oppression. Simultaneously, socialist morality borrows and inherits all that has always been associated in ethics with progress and humanism. This is fully reflected in the system of education and upbringing in socialist society.

Not only does socialist morality manifest its humane character today, but it is the forerunner of human morality in general, undifferentiated as to classes. This morality, however, will be relevant only after classes have been completely abolished. 'A really human morality', Engels wrote, 'which stands above class antagonism'

¹ V. I. Lenin, 'The Tasks of the Youth Leagues', *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 293.

onisms and above any recollection of them becomes possible only at a stage of society which has not only overcome class antagonisms but has even forgotten them in practical life.¹

Socialist values and moral principles also have to do with the organisation of the life of society. Pride of place goes to the ideals of social justice and equality, democracy, dynamic social development, non-antagonistic relations, distribution according to the quantity and quality of work performed, equal rights to work, education, health protection, rest and leisure, and equal opportunities to exercise them. To be singled out in the sphere of international relations are the ideals and principles of peaceful coexistence, economic cooperation, and mutual respect for the rights of nations and national sovereignty.

With reference to the conduct of individuals, socialist values and moral principles are manifested most fully in the human ideal. Socialist humanism is not confined to theoretical and axiological postulations. It has a real, practical character. It is humanism embodied in social practice, through the provision of conditions for the development and satisfaction of human wants, which are conducive to man's all-round development.

In this sense, the practical implementation of socialist humanist ideals consists in improving the living and working conditions of individuals and of society as a whole.

¹ Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, p. 118.

The socialist human ideal is no abstraction. It has a definite, objective, i. e., socio-historical and ideological source.

The socio-economic basis of this ideal is the socialist system, the social relations prevailing in it, and the requirements and prospects for society's development. In socialist society, where public ownership of the means of production predominates, it is necessary for people actively to take part in public affairs and develop a high sense of responsibility for the community, for society as a whole, i. e., what is required is responsibility and social discipline, as well as a creative attitude to work. Under circumstances where work has become the basis of progress and prosperity, the yardstick of a person's worth and a source of satisfaction and success in life, people have developed an honest and conscientious attitude towards work, have come to respect it as the source of human dignity, and to have confidence in each other and respect for the results of their own work and the work of other people.

The elimination of class conflicts and the exploitation of man by man creates the prerequisites for the members of socialist society to develop kindness and consideration in their relationships. Thus, socialist social relations determine the nature of moral change, the emergence of new moral standards, and the substance of socialist ideological-educational practice.

Under socialism, technological and social progress are combined. This makes it possible to use the results

of modern technology to enrich the material, cultural and intellectual life of society, to promote the development of the individual and his needs, aspirations, interests and creativity, and simultaneously to eliminate from men's relations moral callousness, a lack of progressive ideas, a commercial approach to life and its values, and other negative traits that appear under the influence of bourgeois morality. All this requires that the ideological and moral traits of people living under socialism should be combined with such organisational and production requirements as high occupational skills, labour efficiency, creativity in production, and a high sense of responsibility for their work.

The theoretical and ideological foundations of socialist morality are provided by Marxist-Leninist theory, which serves as the ideology of the revolutionary working-class movement.

The socialist human ideal encompasses the moral traditions of the revolutionary working-class movement, which express its assimilation of such values as international solidarity, revolutionary romanticism and social activity combining morality and practical revolutionary action.

Lastly, the socialist ideal is based also on the human, moral traditions common to all mankind, i.e., on the moral principles and standards of conduct which express constant, universal conditions of life and human requirements. These values and standards have to do above all with human character traits (strong will and resolution, and some aspects of human relations, especially respect for one's parents and elders,

faithfulness, modesty, friendship and respect for others in general), but they should equally be observed in the context of international relations (peace, fulfilment of international treaties, etc.).

The elements of the socialist human ideal can be divided into several groups, taking into account those aspects of human life which are subject to moral judgement, to its regulating character. One of these groups comprises the traits of a harmonious individual, viz., wide-ranging interests, a creative approach, and harmoniously developed material, intellectual and cultural requirements. To mould such a man is the main goal of socialist social practice, while, at the same time, these human qualities are a factor in the development of socialist society.

Socialist humanism finds its fullest expression in the principle that man is the main moral value and has the right to all-round development of his personality, his needs, his interests and creative abilities.

The all-round development of the individual takes place as a result of social development and of his practical involvement in the life of socialist society and in creative work. It is the moral duty of every member of socialist society to make use of the opportunities provided by society for his development.

Another group of qualities implied in the socialist ideal of the individual includes the qualities (principles) characteristic of a conscious participant in the development of society and a good citizen of the socialist state. These qualities are: ideological commitment, a scientific world outlook, social activity, patri-

otism and internationalism, responsibility, a sense of duty, concern for the well-being of the people and the development of the country, and social discipline. All are manifested when an individual participates in carrying out social development programmes and national economic plans viewed from the standpoint of the identity of the goals and interests of the individual and society.

Socialist society is characterised by the concurrence of the social and individual aims of developing society and man. Men's will, aspirations, abilities and efforts are channelled to the attainment of a common goal which is the progress of society, its economic prosperity and cultural flowering. The realisation of this goal is the earnest of individuals' personal success, of their social status.

The third group of elements of the socialist human ideal comprises the qualities characterising the working man, using modern means of production as the exponent of social relations. These are the qualities of being conscientious and well-disciplined, honest, skilled, competent, independent, full of initiative, thrifty, eager to improve one's qualifications, concerned for the high quality of one's own and the collective's work, and careful with public property. These principles rest on the recognition of labour as a major social and moral value, one of the main requisites of character formation.

The fourth group includes the qualities (principles) typical of one who is honest in private life and in his dealings with other people, viz., truthfulness,

uprightness, the ability to keep one's word, modesty, understanding, solidarity, friendliness, respect for one's own and other people's dignity. These are highly essential features of the moral make-up of people in socialist society, where ideological-educational activities are directed at attaining high standards of conduct and at perfecting human relations in work collectives and in the family, at work and in the street, in residential communities and in mass organisations. The realisation of the humane principles of social justice and democracy helps establish equal relations between citizens, regardless of their social role, and make all working people respect one another. Underlying the socialist standards of community life is the profoundly humane idea of class solidarity, mutual understanding, cooperation, and mutual assistance among members of socialist society.

Singling out these qualities and dividing them into groups does not mean that they are separate, let alone opposed to one another. *The socialist human ideal is a unity of all these qualities*, just as there is unity between one's conduct in private and public life.

In describing the humane character and the prerequisites of socialist morality, one must particularly stress the connection between the ideal man and the ideal society. Therein lies the identity of their interests, aims, and values. Lastly, it is important to take into account the connection between educational and moral ideals and the revolutionary practice of remaking society and changing both the system of ownership and class structure, and the socio-economic party

policy pursued during the development of socialist society.

From the standpoint of the ideal, the character of human sentiments and conduct under socialism is determined by moral understanding and maturity, independent evaluation of moral situations, and by observance of the moral code of the builder of socialism and communism in everyday life.

The moral ideal also forms the basis of the conception of the socialist way of life, i.e., the model of a person's success in life, needs, and conduct in public and private life, in the political and production sphere, in every area of human relations. (See the next section for a more detailed discussion of this subject.)

The moulding of the individual in socialist society and the formation of his ideological and moral make-up is a complicated and comparatively long process. Abolition of the antagonistic classes, socialisation of the means of production, and optimisation of the development of society do not automatically obliterate all that is undesirable in men's conduct. At the current stage of development of the socialist system, traits are still observable which run counter to socialist morality. There are still to be found signs of the mercenary spirit and ill-will in relations between people, instances of slack public discipline and insufficient respect for work and public property, and manifestations of narrow-mindedness, greed, selfishness and indifference to public affairs. These traits have been inherited from the exploiting system, but they are also sustained to a certain extent by the non-antagonistic contradic-

tions which are being overcome in the course of the socialist countries' development.

The socialist human ideal is finding embodiment in people's conduct to an ever greater extent. Socialism is superior to capitalism in that it provides the conditions for the emergence of a new, superior morality, the morality of the new man, with his new moral wants. The active role of the socialist human ideal with respect to social realities is due to the fact that, expressing as it does men's moral wants and expectations under socialism, this ideal stimulates their social activity and promotes the development of society.

The far-reaching economic and political changes which occur as the economic and cultural development programmes are carried out provide conditions for the further development and firm establishment of moral values in socialist society. Their spread is also furthered by the propagation of the socialist moral values and human ideal. The leading role in this is played by the Marxist-Leninist parties. Not only do Communists actively propagate the socialist ideals, they are living models of conduct consistent with the socialist moral principles.

3. The Humanity of Real Socialism and the Emergence of the New Man

Socialisation of the means of production and the resultant fundamental change in man's role in production, as well as the growth of the living standards

and cultural level of the masses, essentially alter the circumstances of people's life, providing objective conditions for their development and the establishment of new forms of human activity and social relations, different from those in bourgeois society. As opportunities are provided for the involvement of the overwhelming majority of the people in social and political life and the management of the economy, and as the social barriers hindering access to education and culture for the working people are removed, the social basis and guarantee are provided for the all-round development of their personalities.

The socialist revolution, which ushered in a new stage in history, has so radically altered the social conditions of human life that even today we can speak of the successful moulding of the man of the socialist era. Socialism is the first social system in history which gradually and steadily creates the conditions for the development of the individual and of all members of society.

The goal of socialist production is the satisfaction of citizens' material and cultural needs. Inherent in socialism is man's striving to develop socially justified needs, to overcome the contradiction, typical of antagonistic class societies, between the social character of production and the private mode of appropriation of the means of production and its results. The economic conditions breeding antagonism between producers and managers, between the function of work and that of management are abolished. Under the new economic conditions, the masses have a real oppor-

tunity to take part on a large scale in the management of production and in social regulation. With the elimination of the economic prerequisites of the exploitation of man by man, the social nature and significance of labour change. Labour becomes a general right, duty and independent value for the members of socialist society. When private and common interests coincide, labour increasingly becomes not merely a means of making a living, but man's prime necessity.

Under socialism, the development of the individual is dialectically linked with the development of society at large. The harmonious individual is both the aim and precondition of the development of society.

CHANGES IN THE CHARACTER OF LABOUR AND MAN'S ATTITUDE TO LABOUR

The place of honour in the process of building socialism is assigned to the problem of the emancipation of labour and man's development (self-realisation) through labour. In capitalist society, primarily aimed at obtaining maximum profits, human labour is merely a means of accumulation of wealth (for the capitalists) and a means of subsistence (for the workers). In socialist society, the aim of which is the satisfaction of citizens' material, cultural and intellectual needs, production activities cannot be seen merely as a means of subsistence. Owing to the working people's changed position in the system of production and their broad participation in management, and to the

fact that work is humanised and made creative, labour becomes a form in which the working people realise their talents and creative potentialities and assert their personalities. A socialist enterprise is a real work collective of working people and an educational milieu, fashioning relations of a new kind between fellow-workers and a new attitude to labour.

The emancipation and humanisation of human labour also create favourable conditions for the development of every area of human life: new kinds of consumption and cultural and intellectual requirements, improvement of family life, new methods of organising leisure, and the development of diverse forms of community life outside one's working hours. The implementation of programmes for building communism in the USSR and developed socialist society in most of the socialist community countries is a new stage not only in the development of the productive forces and relations of production, but also in the moulding of a new man with personal traits which correspond to the requirements and possibilities of the socialist system. This man has more varied needs, a new pattern of values and a new mode of perception, and is interested in obtaining not merely material goods, but also those of a higher order, i.e., aesthetic, ethical and intellectual ones.

Socialism's historical advantage and basic social quality is that it gradually provides the prerequisites for the all-round development of the individual in the process of labour. Socialist ownership of the means of

production is the socio-economic basis underlying the formation of such an individual.

1) Socialist ownership of the means of production makes the goal of production altogether different. The goal of socialist production is not maximum profit but the satisfaction of the working people's material and cultural requirements in accordance with the means available to society. Thus, the goal of production meets the immediate interests of the working people, allowing them to combine private and common interests.

2) In socialist society, every working person is simultaneously an immediate producer and owner of the means of production: this helps to close the gap, inherited from antagonistic class society, between production and administration, between the function of labour and the function of management. The active, organising involvement of every person in the management of production and the administration of public affairs becomes a duty and a necessity provided for by the growth of education and skill.

3) On the basis of socialist ownership of the means of production, the character of labour also undergoes a fundamental change. Being co-owners of public property, the working people are in an equal socio-political relation to the objective conditions of production. As exploitation is abolished, social labour becomes universal. Everyone has the right and the duty to work. Work is carried out in a planned fashion. As a result of economic planning and the scientific administration of society, men become more and

more successful in achieving their aims. The agreement between scientific working-class ideology and the immediate experience of the working people themselves becomes a major condition strengthening historical optimism and people's confidence in the future.

4) The emergence of a new attitude to labour is an essential expression of its socialist character. Owing to the objective correspondence between personal interests and the social goals of production, labour becomes less and less a means of subsistence and, as socialism advances, increasingly turns into a prime vital necessity. Labour discipline and ethics do not hinge any longer on the need to sell one's labour power or the fear of losing one's job, but are founded on an awareness of the social significance of labour as a means of satisfying both social and personal needs.

From this it follows that the positive attitude to labour in socialist society is due to the uniformity of people's personal plans, application of their knowledge and abilities, and the existence of opportunities for their professional growth.

As for labour as a value, many sociological studies conducted in the socialist countries show that in young workers' pattern of values creative, attractive work is placed first. They see work as an indispensable part of their lives.

Labour is a basic value in socialist society. It is a source of economic achievement and a factor shaping human traits and the principles underlying human relations.

MAN'S DEVELOPMENT IN THE PRODUCTIVE AND NON-PRODUCTIVE SPHERES

Man's life is realised both in the productive and the non-productive sphere. The conditions of life in each of them influence each other. When analysing the perspectives of man's development, a broad, comprehensive approach must be exercised, taking into account the economic, political, ideological, cultural and psychological aspects.

In examining the problems involved in the moulding of the new type of individual, one must also deal with those of them which relate to the socialist mode of life.

It is known that the slogan of 'raising the quality of life' in bourgeois conceptions boils down to petty reforms in the organisation of production and social relations, and has to do first of all with a better organisation of the service industry, supply, the municipal economy, and athletic and recreational activities.

In this respect, social policy in the socialist countries is fundamentally different. Under socialism, owing to the socialisation of the means of production, it becomes possible to introduce cardinal changes in the mode of life both in production and outside of it, for man's position as producer of the material goods is fundamentally changed. He is no longer an object of exploitation but a conscious subject of economic activity. The goal of socialist production at every level becomes that of making it possible for man to fulfil himself which in turn becomes a most effective lever for economic progress, since men's initiative in pro-

duction, their participation in management, improvement of their qualifications, and increased sense of responsibility and moral understanding come to be a substantial source of the dynamic development of individual enterprises and the national economy as a whole.

Thus, on the basis of the socialist relations of production the conditions of life (or the quality of life) can undergo a change which fundamentally differs from the kind of change suggested by the Western reformists.

By ending exploitation and social injustice, and wiping out the antagonistic class structure, socialism provides the real foundations for the brotherhood of the working people. By abolishing private ownership of the means of production and the barriers it puts up, socialism provides great opportunities (through creative work and socio-political activity) for sweeping progressive reforms. Socialism invests human life with a new and deeper humanitarian meaning.

In bourgeois society, the system of economic relations determines the place of each individual in the class structure, society, and the social division of labour, and this results in unequal access to culture and education.

Socialist relations remove the obstacles to cultural and intellectual growth, providing people equal opportunities to choose their calling and train for it, and making them feel more responsible for what they are. In carrying out the planned development of the economy and a social policy based on princi-

ples of equality, they overcome the feeling of insecurity which is typical of capitalist society and is caused by the ever-present threat of unemployment, skill devaluation, a sudden deterioration in living standards because of a change in the economic situation or impaired health, and so on.

Building up citizens' participation in running the country through various forms of direct and representative democracy, the socialist system makes them increasingly effective and aware subjects of public life, conscious makers of history.

Thus, such notions as 'changing the mode of life' (which will be discussed in the next chapter) or 'imparting a new sense to it' acquire a deeper meaning in socialist society alone. Here it is no longer a question of a reformist programme of petty social improvements but one of revolutionary changes which have to do with the fundamentals of human existence. Dehumanised forms of labour, characteristic of bourgeois society, produce dehumanised forms of cultural involvement. Degradation of the moral value of human labour implies a degradation of leisure activities. Wearied by monotonous work, turned into a robot with no say in running the enterprise he works at, the employee of a capitalist enterprise is far from always able to engage in some creative pursuit in his free time. Often enough he turns for consolation to drink and cheap amusements, watching insipid films and television programmes or, at best, becomes a passive consumer of 'cultural goods'.

In this connection, the opposition of 'free time' to 'working time' in bourgeois society is criticised by Marxist scholars. Marxism rejects both the neo-hedonistic conception of labour as a function of free time, the price one has to pay for leisure and amusement, and the technocratic definition of free time as a function of labour, a common form of regeneration of labour power. In the Marxist tradition, these problems are interpreted from the standpoint of the socialisation and all-round development of the individual, from the standpoint of moulding an integral, active personality. As for the compensation theories, their emergence is closely bound up with the essential contradictions existing in the industrialised capitalist countries. Defending the economic foundations of its rule, the bourgeoisie cannot allow any far-reaching changes in the nature of labour, any humanisation of labour, nor can it promote the emergence of real, not illusory, democracy in the management of production. It tries to link the working people's aspirations with the prospect of an increased individual consumption and free time. Unable to ensure any real emancipation of the working class, the bourgeoisie sets out to create the illusion of success in life being dependent on the development of a commercialised, primitive mass culture. It turned out, however, that in the bourgeois societies which prematurely called themselves 'welfare states', the elimination of poverty and insufficiency of material goods failed to provide a source of spiritual wealth for the working people or

to further their cultural growth. As is shown by many progressive philosophers, sociologists and theoreticians in the field of culture, the situation is just the opposite. Culture in these societies is threatened by the spread of consumers and insipid, commercialised amusements. Weariness and a sense of spiritual poverty beset people not only while at work but also in their free time.

Socialist social policy does not treat the development of the individual merely in terms of the opportunities arising from shorter working hours. The values of working time are equally important, as labour is not only at the basis of the existence and progress of civilisation, but is also the main content of a human life, on which the all-round development of the individual depends.

Combining the prospects of development of socialist culture and the humanisation of labour is quite realistic, as contemporary social and technological progress helps to change the conditions and substance of labour so as to enable more and more people to engage in creative work. In a humane and real perspective of the future the development of socialist social relations is seen to lead to the extension of men's creativity in every area of their life, and the emergence of harmoniously developed member of communist society. This is not the prospect of a 'civilisation of leisure and amusement', the aim of which is to offset the disgust caused by the compulsory character of work. From this standpoint, the main problem of the life of socialist society is that

of combining work and leisure and preparing people for creative work in every sphere of life and for active self-expression, whether in their work or in their leisure hours.

In bourgeois society today the aim is to own prestigious things, live in style, and go after pleasure. This often results in satiety and a sense of the emptiness of life. The development of technology offers no answers to the problem of social ideals, rules of community living or the choice of one's world outlook. This shows the importance of studying and making tangible the Marxist ideal of 'man's self-realisation', forming the socialist mode of life through different measures, and proliferating Marxist views and communist morality.¹

We do not reduce the emancipation of man to the emancipation of labour. Marx repeatedly stressed that the accomplishment of the ideal of emancipation of labour must lead to an awakening of man's creative capabilities, the capacity for 'aesthetic emotion' and production of things 'on the principle of beauty'. He said that the feelings of man in society differed from those of man outside of society. In Marx's view, 'only through the objectively unfolded richness of man's essential being is the richness of subjective *human* sensibility (a musical ear, an eye for beauty of form—in short, *senses* capable of human gratification, senses affirming themselves as essential powers of *man*) either cultivated or brought

¹ The role of cultural institutions in the emergence of the socialist mode of life is discussed in Chapter VI.

into being, for not only the five senses but also the so-called mental senses—the practical senses (will, love, etc.)—in a word, *human* sense—the human nature of the senses—comes to be by virtue of its object, by virtue of *humanised* nature'.¹

For the contemporary builders of developed socialism and communism, the humanisation of labour and the provision of opportunities for creative work are important to the realisation of man's essence in all its dimensions. They are also the necessary conditions for humanising the extra-production sphere of the workers' life; developing diverse forms of the working people's participation in cultural life; establishing dignified relations, not distorted by the 'pop culture', between man and woman, relations of genuine love and mutual respect. One who is a 'slave' of labour cannot be truly free and creative after his working day is over. He often becomes intolerant of other people, especially his family. Spiritual emptiness leads to the distortion of love, to the pursuit of cheap and primitive amusements and to a growing demand for primitive pop culture, sentimental quasi-heroic novels and worthless plays. Such distortion is manifested in advancing symptoms of social and erotic pathology, crime, and so on. The opportunities provided by socialist society for men's all-round development through work, for self-realisation through creative activity, through development of

¹ Karl Marx, *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, pp. 95-96.

the intellect and imagination, and through friendly relations with one's colleagues, all provide a sound foundation for their active involvement in cultural life and in genuine leisure activities. Thus, the problem of man's emancipation embraces the two spheres of human life—the sphere of work and the sphere of leisure.

Since it abolishes the social barriers that held back the development of the individual and provides heretofore unknown conditions for the development of men's versatile activities and participation in political life and in the production of new values of material and spiritual culture, the socialist system notably speeds up the historical processes of human development.

In the period when the foundations of socialism were built, extensive development factors predominated. Society was building new enterprises in order to advance the economy, lay the material and technical foundations of socialism, and provide employment for increasing numbers of the population previously engaged in agriculture. Socialist society could finance industrialisation solely through its own exertions and at the cost of certain hardships. As a result, quantitative growth factors predominated in economic development.

Nevertheless, owing to the efforts that were made, and thanks to cooperation among the fraternal socialist countries, most of them have recently entered a stage of development at which intensive and qualitative factors predominate. Now a steady rise

in the people's living standards is the aim and condition of accelerated development. Moreover, the growth of real wages and of consumption is an economic and moral factor stimulating the growth of production. In future, higher, cultural wants, as well as elementary material ones, will be satisfied to an ever greater degree. In socialist society, things are valued not for their own sake, but as means contributing to well-being, a fuller life, and the harmonious development of the individual in whose life the formula 'to live in order to have' is replaced by the formula 'to have so as to live', i. e., to make one's life full and interesting.

The documents of the communist parties of the socialist countries stress that the dynamic growth in developed socialist society stems from joining the advances of science and technology with the advantages of socialism. As Marx said, with the development of large-scale industry, the creation of real wealth will depend less on working time and the amount of labour expended than on the might of those agents which are brought into play during working time and which themselves in no way correspond to the immediate working time that goes into their production, but rather depend on the general level of science and the progress of technology of the application of this science in production.¹

¹ See: Karl Marx, *Grundrisse der Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie*, Verlag für Fremdsprachige Literatur, Moskau, 1939, S. 592.

The advantages of socialism include, besides social changes, improved relations in work collectives, a new style of management, participation by the work force in management, and a corresponding policy on the part of the public organisations through which citizens' participation in administration is carried out.

PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC LIFE AND SOCIAL DUTIES

Enlargement of the rights of man and of the citizen, possible under socialism alone, is the prerequisite of man's all-round development under socialism, and simultaneously an expression of the humanitarian essence of the socialist system. As the question of human and civil rights is today an object of acute ideological struggle, we must indicate the principal point of difference in the conception, interpretation, and exercise of human rights under socialism and under capitalism.

The liberal bourgeois conception of human and civil rights emerged in Europe during the period of the bourgeoisie's struggle against absolute feudal monarchy. This conception postulated two categories of human rights: individual freedoms and political rights. The founders of Marxism subjected the principles underlying the conception of human rights in the liberal bourgeois state to sharp and detailed criticism, pointing out that under a social system based on private ownership of the means of production—such as the bourgeois state—human rights generally could not be exercised. Where there is private owner-

ship of the means of production, social inequality prevails, and not all members of society have the same opportunities to exercise the rights and freedoms they are nominally granted. As far as the exploited classes and groups are concerned, civil rights only exist on paper.

Under capitalism, human rights are not guaranteed, nor can they be guaranteed. That is why the bourgeoisie raises the question of human rights only within certain limits, reducing the whole issue to political rights and saying hardly anything at all about economic rights (the right to work), social rights (e.g., the right to rest and leisure, and to health protection), and cultural rights (e.g., the right to education). The bourgeoisie is unable to give reality to these fundamental human rights. One must stress that under capitalism political rights and freedoms turn into mere formal declarations and in practice do not rule out political discrimination against progressive public movements (in West Germany, for example, Communists are deprived of the right to work).

Under socialism, human rights are guaranteed by the social policy of the Marxist-Leninist party and the socialist state, which provides real opportunities for the exercise of the right to work, rest and leisure, health protection, education and the enjoyment of cultural benefits, and to participation in the management of public affairs. All these palpable rights, enjoyed by citizens in the socialist countries, are impossible under capitalism. The bourgeois oratory on

freedom goes hand in hand with violations of fundamental economic, social and cultural human rights, violations expressed in poverty, unemployment, and class barriers to science, education, culture, and state administration.

The superiority of socialism over capitalism is also manifested in the development of different forms of citizens' direct and indirect participation in political life and in their new approach to public affairs. This is made possible by the changes in the social structure which occur in socialist society and which drastically expand the social foundations of the socialist state and help rally society as a whole around the party of the working class and the socialist state, while the organising and economic functions of the state continue to develop.

The development of socialist democracy and economic development are interlinked. The development of democracy, Lenin wrote, 'will exert its influence on economic life as well, will stimulate its transformation; and in its turn it will be influenced by economic development, and so on. This is the dialectics of living history'.¹

The development of democracy, the growing numbers of working people consciously taking part in political life, is, therefore, one of the natural features of the development of socialist society and of the socialist mode of life. Lenin wrote: 'As man's his-

¹ V. I. Lenin, 'The State and Revolution', *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 453.

tory-making activity grows broader and deeper, the size of that mass of the population which is the conscious maker of history is bound to increase."

To enable citizens to take part consciously and competently in the political life of the country, it is necessary, apart from extending socialist democracy, to educate them in the proper spirit, so that they learn more and more about the ways in which society develops, about legislation and the laws regulating the life of a human community, about the modern organisation of labour and management. Equally necessary are a tightening up of conscious public discipline and a clear understanding of the principle of the unity of citizens' rights and duties.

Of great significance in raising the activity of work collectives in the socialist countries is the constant concern for steadily raising the working people's level of political education and vocational training. For it is not just any kind of participation in management that is meant, but only skilled, efficient and responsible participation such as can only be the case given sufficiently high skills and a good understanding of the workings of economic life. Improvement of the general educational level and skills of work collective members and the development of diverse forms of education and self-education is the prime concern of party, trade union and scientific and technical organisations.

² V. I. Lenin, 'The Heritage We Renounce,' *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1972, p. 524.

One should, however, stress the interrelation between the development of culture and of production, which makes it essential to deal with the practical problems involved in the building up of the family, the upbringing of children in the family, contacts between teachers and parents, and the organisation of interesting and constructive forms of recreation.

OPPORTUNITIES AND PROSPECTS FOR MAN'S CULTURAL AND INTELLECTUAL GROWTH

Under socialism, cultural creative endeavour becomes free from the domination of commerce. The organisational and material prerequisites of working people's participation in the development of culture are provided. Amateur cultural activities develop on a broad scale. The system of cultural values and the essence of culture under socialism are of a thoroughly humanitarian nature. This is a result of the cultural revolution which is a constituent part of socialist change. In the development of human culture as well, socialism ushers in a new epoch, which ever more substantially reflects the socialist changes in social, political and economic life in an ever greater variety of forms.

In this sense, the cultural revolution is an objective natural feature of the building of socialism, of the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism. Its aim is to abolish the cultural lag of the formerly exploited masses and create a new, socialist culture which the masses will produce as well as consume.

Thus, the cultural revolution is a process which consists of many stages and extends to every area of the people's cultural life. It is not confined to destroying what is obsolete in art, science, education and morality, and abolishing backwardness. The cultural revolution, which makes the masses the creators of cultural and intellectual values and of science, is both destructive and constructive and, above all, embraces the complex process of the emergence of a new, socialist culture.

The cultural revolution destroys the class systems of ethical and aesthetic values alien to the masses. The gains of science and technology, art and literature, accumulated by the people through the ages, are their inheritance.

Lenin stressed that one must not put up with conditions under which only the few can enjoy cultural blessings while the many, the exploited classes, are deprived of the elementary benefits of science and culture. 'From now on,' he wrote, 'all the marvels of science and the gains of culture belong to the nation as a whole, and never again will man's brain and human genius be used for oppression and exploitation.'¹

In the course of the cultural revolution, a new, socialist ideology takes root in social consciousness, providing the basis for the establishment of a proletarian socialist culture.

¹ V. I. Lenin, 'Third All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants Deputies', *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, pp. 481-82.

As was mentioned, socialist culture does not break off with the best traditions of the old culture. Nevertheless, the qualitative advantages of socialist culture go beyond the legacy of the past, as in the course of the cultural revolution there emerges a new system of ethical and aesthetic values reflecting the interests and aims of the working class and all working people. The revolution in the sphere of culture which takes place in the context of the socialist revolution, removes the obstacles that barred the masses from international and national cultural benefits, and endows national and world culture with new content and forms. Not only does the cultural revolution give talented representatives of the masses broad access to cultural and intellectual values, but it extends the once narrow, academic limits of creative work, applying a new yardstick to original folk art and tapping its immense wealth. Thanks to this, folk art joins the common stream of human culture, thereby producing a socialist culture. The cultural revolution is also accompanied by essential changes in social consciousness. This refers in particular to people's changed attitude to religion.

The policy pursued by the socialist state towards religion ensures citizens real opportunities for exercising freedom of conscience. State institutions, including scientific, cultural and educational establishments, are protected from religious influences of any kind. Religion is withering away in the socialist countries as a result of the implementation of the

principles of socialist humanism, the elimination of illusory, unscientific views of the world, and the establishment of a scientific, materialist world outlook which regards man as the supreme value.

The spread of the scientific, materialist world outlook among the masses calls for the continuous development of culture and dissemination of knowledge about nature and society, combined with sufficient humanising of social relations to do away with mythical ideas about man's destiny and his place in history and in the universe.

To further ideological, political and aesthetic education and ensure greater involvement in cultural life, the socialist state builds up the material facilities of culture and promotes diverse forms of social organisation of free time.

Thus, the socialist system eliminates the antagonism arising from social progress, the latter becoming coextensive with the development of each individual. The economic, social, cultural, intellectual, and moral processes developing in society are expressed in the conscious actions of its members. Thereby, an individual in society, with his abilities, requirements, inclinations, knowledge and convictions, is afforded entirely new opportunities for action, and his actions acquire new importance in history.

All-round development of the individual does not imply that everyone is reared as a consummate genius, knowing all and good at everything. Rather versatility consists in the fact that on the basis of the

new historical conditions that exist in socialist society (a) the individual in his thoughts, feelings and actions increasingly correlates with society as a whole; (b) a historically specific universality of methods of assimilation and activity is developed in cooperation with others (work in production and participation in planning and management, participation in bodies of socialist democracy, executive and managerial activities); and (c) there emerges an active individual built on a new pattern (unity of intellectual and physical development, of intellectual and emotional capabilities, of capacity for work and pleasure, of knowledge and social experience).

Under socialism, no contradictions arise between the realisation of humanitarian aims, social policy, and the development of culture, on the one hand, and economic progress, on the other. At present the socialist community is entering the stage of socio-economic development at which, according to Marx, the free development of each is the condition of the free development of all, and the all-round individual development of every producer will coincide with the greatest possible growth of the productive forces.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SOCIALIST MODE OF LIFE

1. Socialism and the Mode of Life

Since times of old men have pondered the meaning of life, good and evil, justice and injustice. They have had definite notions of happiness, of life, of a mode of life worthy of man. The questions connected with one's mode of life are closely bound up with one's world outlook. There is no single answer to them for all men: a revolutionary worker and a capitalist see these problems in a different light, for they are inseparable from class interests and cannot be divorced from the class struggle.

The capitalists consider it just to exploit other people, and the workers consider it just to fight exploitation. A capitalist's happiness is in profit; a revolutionary worker's, in ending the conditions which make a working man enslaved, oppressed, exploited, deprived and humiliated; he is happy when the exploiting system is abolished and socialism is built.

Its mode of life is the hallmark of a society. It expresses the character of the social system, of the relations of production, and shows what are the relations of property and power in it, and which is the ruling class.

The problems of the mode of life occupy a particular place in the struggle between the Marxist-Leninist and bourgeois ideologies. The current stage of the struggle between socialism and capitalism is largely characterised by the fact that the problems of the mode of life are increasingly becoming the touchstone of the viability, humanism and moral worth of a social system. International detente and the further implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems allow us to compare objectively the ways in which fundamental issues and problems affecting public life and the private lives of millions are dealt with in socialist and capitalist society. We have in mind humane living and working conditions, including nature conservation, an ever fuller satisfaction of citizens' material, cultural and intellectual wants, and the provision of opportunities for the all-round development of the individual. The convincing example of the socialist mode of life, which is founded on peace, stable economic growth, social well-being, freedom and justice, is of ever greater significance in the peoples' struggle against capitalist rule, which threatens peace and mars millions of human lives, breeding social insecurity and trampling elementary human rights.

The growing interest in the qualitative aspects of public and private life among working people in capitalist countries is a graphic sign of their disenchantment with the capitalist social system. This disenchantment is growing particularly acute in the midst

of the profound crisis gripping capitalist society. It is increasingly obvious that capitalism is historically incapable of using the productive forces for men's good. Capitalism is unable by its nature steadily to satisfy men's growing vital needs and provide for their all-round development.

The man-hating nature of the capitalist system is especially obvious today in the light of facts that characterise the life of the working people in the socialist countries. The communist and workers' parties of the socialist community orientate their activities towards the good of the people and of each citizen. The progress of science and technology, and economic and social policy serve to satisfy increasingly men's material, cultural and intellectual requirements, and to promote the development of their personalities. The socialist mode of life conclusively demonstrates that unemployment, permanent inflation, social insecurity, a lack of prospects, above all for young and old people, and other vices of capitalism are not fatally inevitable. The social guarantees typical of the socialist mode of life, security and an optimistic view of life, all express the historical superiority of socialist over capitalist society. No exploiting society can guarantee or really give such social security and confidence in the future to millions of men and women.

The socialist countries have already achieved higher economic growth rates than the developed capitalist countries, although their absolute level of labour efficiency is lower. Nevertheless, men's basic re-

quirements are much better satisfied under socialism than under capitalism. In socialist society, the exploitation of man by man and social oppression do not exist. It guarantees the cultural and intellectual development of citizens and provides the conditions for social equality. It grants citizens great social rights: the right to work, to participation in running public affairs, to education, access to science and culture, free medical service, protection of mothers and children, and social security in old age and in the event of sickness. In this way qualitatively new foundations have been laid for the activity of individuals, groups, and society as a whole. The emergence and firm establishment of the socialist mode of life are not confined to individual aspects of life. They are determined in the long run by the mode of production and the development of the productive forces and relations of production. This relationship does not mean at all that the mode of life mechanically depends on the socialist mode of production. The socialist relations of production, which are built according to plan, require constant initiative and creative involvement on the part of men, who are the major productive force in socialist society and the co-owners of the means of production. In the course of their active, creative work, the working class, the cooperative peasants, the socialist intelligentsia, and all other sections of the people develop the socialist mode of life, whose improvement, in its turn, is the key condition for the further strengthening of socialist production.

The bourgeois mode of life is the inevitable product of capitalist social relations. The economic and social structure of capitalist society increasingly conflicts with the basic needs of the working people and the demands of social progress and democratic political development. Relying on its economic, political and ideological means of government, the imperialist bourgeoisie is always seeking to manipulate the mode of life in line with its own interests. For this purpose, theoretical conceptions are evolved like the 'welfare society', 'reformed capitalism,' and 'a better quality of life'. These and similar conceptions turn out to be mere attempts to help maintain the existing relations of power for the sake of capitalist profit and superprofit.

The inevitable features marking the working people's mode of life in the capitalist countries are chronic unemployment, decreasing purchasing power of the masses, and insecurity.

The mode of life is determined first of all by the character of the relations of production and the level of the productive forces, i. e., by the mode of production. Marx and Engels wrote: 'This mode of production must not be considered simply as being the reproduction of the physical existence of the individuals. Rather it is a definite form of activity of these individuals, a definite form of expressing their life, a definite *mode of life* on their part.'¹

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, 'The German Ideology', in: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, Moscow, 1976, p. 31.

From this it follows that, as a result of the revolutionary transformation of one socio-economic formation into another, there also occurs a revolutionary transformation of the way people live.

The logical and inevitable relationship between the mode of production and the mode of living is of truly historic significance today. As a result of the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, the exploitation of man by man is completely abolished, and simultaneously with the emergence and establishment of the socialist mode of production, an entirely new, socialist mode of life comes into being. It is a new mode of life which is, by its very essence, incompatible with the mode of life prevailing under capitalism.

The socialist mode of life is a definite kind of organisation of life, closely bound up with the development of socialist relations of production, modern productive forces, and socialist consciousness. It covers the typical kinds of people's activity, whether in production or in political and other organisations, whether in their working or free time, whether at their places of residence or in their family or among their friends. The socialist mode of life implies a steady growth in the living standards and cultural level and improved relations between individuals. The further improvement of the socialist mode of life is inseparably linked with the development of the socialist individual, whose thoughts and actions are in keeping with the requirements of society's development and are characterised by socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

The historical experience of the building of socialist society and the scientific postulations of the founders of Marxism-Leninism teach us that the working class, led by its Marxist-Leninist party, is the decisive social force which plays the key role in the emergence and further development of the socialist mode of life. It creates conditions for the firm establishment and development of the socialist mode of life in society at large.

What, then, are the characteristic features which determine the socialist mode of life?

The further development of the socialist mode of life is inseparably linked with the steady growth of labour productivity and efficiency of production. Conscientious, honest, socially useful labour is the foundation of the socialist mode of life. The entire course of development of the mode of life essentially depends on society's ability to use labour for the moulding of the individual. Hence, the character and organisation of labour are the decisive, fundamental criterion of how humane and progressive a society is. The essential feature distinguishing the socialist from the bourgeois mode of life consists precisely in the new content of labour and the new place it occupies in the lives of millions of men and women. In a society which has abolished the exploitation of man by man and in which the products of labour contribute to the prosperity of each individual and society as a whole, labour stops being merely a means of subsistence and gradually turns into a vital necessity. With the triumph of the socialist revolution, millions

of men and women were enabled, for the first time in history, to work for themselves. There occurred what Lenin described as 'the great change from working under compulsion to working for oneself, to labour planned and organised on a gigantic, national (and to a certain extent international, world) scale'.¹ Under the socialist mode of life man's basic right—the right to work—is guaranteed by the Constitution and has become a reality by virtue of the social guarantee of work. Every able-bodied member of socialist society may be confident, with full reason, that he will always be given the opportunity to work in accordance with his abilities and skill.

Another characteristic feature of the socialist mode of life consists in the new quality of human relations, in the development of the individual and the further strengthening of his social relationships. The material means for the further improvement of the material and cultural conditions of life are not all that is created in the course of production. Also developed and enhanced in the daily struggle of work collectives to achieve their plan targets are socialist relations of production, relations of comradely cooperation and mutual assistance, and the moral qualities of citizens of socialist society, viz., a socialist attitude to work and public property, mutual support, awareness of one's personal responsibility for the common cause, public order, security, and so on. Esteem for

¹ V. I. Lenin, 'How to Organise Competition', *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 408.

the individual, a respectful attitude towards the achievements scored by other collectives and individual workers, mutual respect, pride in good work, and readiness to work are further qualities maintained in the work collective. Work for the good of society and oneself is under socialism the main yardstick of one's worth, prestige and dignity. More and more people become firmly convinced that their creative labour is something more than just a source of personal income. Creative and interesting work for the good of society becomes increasingly important to the development of men's physical and mental abilities, enriching their relations with other working people.

The socialist mode of life presupposes people's creative involvement in political and cultural life in town and country, and a desire for all-round education for the sake of contributing to the welfare of socialist society by one's own creative work and achievements. Education in the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, self-education and the fostering of comprehensively educated, conscious and resolute men and women, strong in body and mind, are part of the socialist mode of life. A clear class position and the striving for higher standards in daily life—at work, in people's public activity and in their organisation of their leisure time—are expressions of the growing role of the world outlook and moral values of the working class in the life of socialist society.

In the course of the formation and consolidation

of the socialist mode of life, the working class, led by its Marxist-Leninist party, translates into practice a historically new system of social security and concern for every member of society. The struggle for social guarantees is, as it has always been, an essential part of the struggle waged by the revolutionary working-class movement. To working people in a capitalist country this notion implies above all a struggle for job security. Under socialism, this notion has a new historical content. The right to work and guaranteed jobs are an integral part of the life of the working people as a major principle of the system of social security. The other socially guaranteed gains of socialism are equal pay for equal work, broad rights and opportunities for development enjoyed by young people, who are given all-round assistance in the pursuit of their vocation, in sports, study and leisure, and constant concern for the old. Social rights and confidence in the future under the socialist mode of life are ensured above all by the strengthening of the socialist relations of production and the political rule of the working class. All citizens enjoy social security both in the present and in the future. From this stems their initiative and their active involvement in tackling current and long-term social problems.

The sense of social confidence that citizens of socialist society have goes beyond their labour activities. It also includes mutual confidence, cohesion and solidarity both between individuals and between the social classes and strata of socialist society. The social

security and sense of confidence in the future inherent in the socialist mode of life indicate the historically new quality of relations among individuals, groups, and society.

One graphic feature of the socialist mode of life and its further improvement is the active involvement of citizens in decision-making and the management of public affairs. In accordance with the principle of democratic centralism, social activity pervades all areas of life in different forms.

There is nothing of the kind in bourgeois democracy. In capitalist society, they keep shouting about the values of the allegedly 'free democratic system', such as 'freedom', 'justice' and 'solidarity', but in practice the elementary rights of the working people are increasingly curtailed, not least with the aid of anti-communist propaganda.

Under socialism, citizens are prompted by their own first-hand experience to undertake various services for society, as their interests concur with those of society. Such an impulse for voluntary public activity on the part of millions could be provided by socialism alone.

Women's growing participation in leadership, in dealing with social problems at enterprises, places of residence and schools, and not least in the immediate exercise of power, is an expression of the real equality of men and women. The participation of young people in carrying out responsible tasks is also characteristic of the socialist mode of life. This important feature of the socialist mode of life is manifest-

ed in the course of the all-round strengthening of the socialist state and socialist law and order under the guidance of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party. Included in this concept is the struggle against infringements of the law, anti-social behaviour, and hooliganism.

The public activity of the working people is part of what makes their life full. That is why the socialist mode of life is characterised by promotion of the cause of the working class, dedication to socialism, and readiness to guard and defend its gains.

It is a cardinal, distinctive feature of the policy conducted by Marxist-Leninist parties in developing the socialist mode of life that simultaneously with the growth of their material well-being people's cultural and intellectual requirements develop and are satisfied. The socialist mode of life, formed under the guidance of the working class and its revolutionary party, furnishes convincing evidence of the fact that increasing affluence and personal property are not the sole purpose of life, but are an important means of making it still more interesting, a means of facilitating the further growth of creative abilities and promoting the development of the individual. A definite role in the further improvement of the socialist mode of life is played by a policy aimed at ensuring the harmonious development and satisfaction of people's wants, on the one hand, and the development of their creative abilities, on the other. This policy multiplies the people's creative energies and strengthens the relationship between good work and higher living stan-

dards, the use of material, cultural and intellectual values.

The social essence of the socialist mode of life consists above all in the following.

The socialist mode of life, in its class essence, is determined by the interests of the working class. Socialist ownership of the means of production, in its two forms, is the groundwork of friendly relations and comradely cooperation between members of the classes and strata of socialist society, on which the organisation of their life and the achievement of their common interests and aims are founded.

The socialist mode of life is formed on the socio-economic and political foundations of socialism as an integral, vital process which comprises people's work in material and intellectual production both in town and country, their political activity in public organisations or bodies of socialist state authority, as well as their activity in other spheres of life, at home, in the family, and in their leisure hours.

The socialist mode of life is no cut-and-dried state of affairs following mechanically from the socialist mode of production. It emerges in the course of the processes of life, which are naturally marked by contradictions.

At the same time, the socialist mode of life is differentiated, because socialist society is not yet a classless society. Although the workers, the peasants, and the intelligentsia are friendly classes, they differ on account of their distinctive living and working conditions, occupational activity, and traditions and habits.

From this inevitably follow certain specific conditions which influence the rate, maturity and concrete forms of development of the socialist mode of life, as well as of the private life of every person.

Of particular significance in this process is the gradual obliteration of differences between physical labour and mental work, and between town and country, first of all, through gradual mechanisation of arduous and unhealthy jobs. Simultaneously, owing to scientific and technological progress, labour processes are enriched with elements of mental activity. Of great importance in this respect is the systematic improvement of the general scientific and intellectual education standards of all members of socialist society.

The elimination of essential social differences between town and country also implies the elimination of the still substantial differences in material and cultural, working and living conditions. The elimination of the essential differences between physical and mental work and between town and country is a lengthy process.

The formation of the socialist mode of life is differentiated not only because of the different working and living conditions of the different classes and strata, but also because of the still substantial differences in the working and living conditions of individual persons. For this reason, the Marxist-Leninist parties of the socialist countries pursue a policy of steadily improving working and living conditions. With this end in view, houses are built on a large scale,

the service industry is perfected, health protection and the organisation of leisure activities are improved, i.e., emphasis is laid on the qualitative aspects of the socialist mode of life as important conditions for its further development.

Another distinctive feature of the formation of the socialist mode of life is connected with the principle of remuneration according to work performed. Socialist society is based on the principle 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his work'. In conformity with this principle, all working people, by virtue of their equal relation to the means of production, are guaranteed a share of the jointly created wealth, differentiated according to the amount and quality of their work.

Applying a uniform yardstick—work performed—in determining the shares of different people with different individual abilities and levels of skill is the only method of distributing the material goods that is possible under socialism. It corresponds to the historical stage of maturity attained by society, to the level of the productive forces, and meets the ensuing need for using personal material incentives in order to raise labour productivity and increase national wealth.

In socialist society, social conditions are provided to an ever greater extent for the full unfolding and all-round development of the abilities, talents and versatile personalities of the members of society.

The socialist relations of production and a uniform political system form the social basis of the unity of the fundamental political, economic and social in-

terests and aims of the socialist countries in shaping the socialist mode of life. Their uniform Marxist-Leninist world outlook, which comprises an understanding of the relationship between national and international elements in the building of socialist society, provides opportunities for fuller developing the intellectual world and morality of the working people, abolishing national insularity and vestiges of nationalism, and for taking into account specific national conditions and interests expressing commonly recognised characteristics of the socialist mode of life. The gradual elimination of historically determined differences, above all in levels of economic development, makes the international essence of the socialist mode of life ever more obvious.

Socialist economic integration facilitates the ever closer drawing together of the socialist community countries. Herein is manifested the dialectic of the national and the international in the further consolidation of the socialist mode of life. It concerns above all such social processes, guided by the Marxist-Leninist parties, as:

- the development of fraternal ties between socialist countries and peoples in every area of the life of society to further the flourishing and drawing together of the socialist nations and the strengthening of the socialist community countries;

- education of the working people in the spirit of socialist patriotism, socialist internationalism and pride in the achievements scored by socialist society, and promotion of diverse forms of international coopera-

tion within work collectives and in the socialist emulation and innovators' movements;

- the development and enrichment of national cultures on the basis of mutual introduction to and high appreciation of the achievements, national traditions and customs of the peoples of the socialist countries;

- active international solidarity with the proletariat fighting against capitalist exploitation and oppression, and with the anti-imperialist national liberation movements.

The emergence and development of the socialist mode of life is a significant historical result of the struggle waged by the working class under the guidance of its Marxist-Leninist party. It is, as it has always been, a struggle for joint action by the working class, the cooperative peasants, the socialist intelligentsia and other working people for a happier life for society as a whole and for each of its members.

2. Public Activity: a Typical Feature of the Socialist Mode of Life

The development of socialist society and its mode of life calls for the continuous extension and improvement of socialist democracy, with the Marxist-Leninist party playing the leading role.

Central to the further improvement of socialist democracy is the all-round consolidation of the socialist state and its social base—the alliance of friendly

classes and social strata. The steadily growing participation of the working people in regulating, planning and supervising social processes and in raising the effectiveness of government decisions, as well as further development of socialist consciousness and the capacity of the individual for implementing socialist democracy, are characteristic features of the socialist mode of life.

The Marxist-Leninist parties of the socialist community countries promote citizens' creative involvement in various aspects of state administration and management of the economy, in the life of society at large. Lenin wrote: 'It is important for us to draw literally all working people into the government of the state ... socialism cannot be implemented by a minority. ... It can be implemented only by tens of millions when they have learned to do it themselves.'¹

The progressive and deeply humane character of socialist democracy is seen in the development of the creative energies of the masses through public activity, whereby the working class, cooperative farm members, the intellectuals and other sections of the people turn into makers of history.

The fact that political and economic power is in the hands of the working class and all working people is the basis for the development of socialist democracy. The problem of democracy is a class problem. The working class, which wields political power and is the

¹ V. I. Lenin, 'Extraordinary Seventh Congress of the R.C.P. (B.)', *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 135.

producer of most of the national wealth, is the main social force in socialist society.

The growing involvement of the working people in government is ensured through the political system of socialist society under the guidance of the Marxist-Leninist party.

Concrete historical conditions and national traditions make it necessary for socialist democracy to be implemented creatively, in all its diverse forms.

The working people in the socialist countries are drawn into the administration of society mainly through:

—participation in elective representative bodies, in the drafting of decisions, and in verification of their adoption and execution;

—membership in mass public organisations, especially trade unions, which, in cooperation with state bodies, coordinate and give a unified direction to the social activity of the working people;

—participation in the social activity of work collectives, which play an increasing part in improving living and working conditions.

In some socialist countries (Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR) there are democratic parties which, in an atmosphere of mutual confidence, jointly with the revolutionary party of the working class, help carry into practice the aims of socialism.

Social activity is manifested in citizens' participation in elective people's representative bodies and

their agencies (committees, commissions, working groups, etc.), and in their taking part in the discussion of major laws, e.g., discussion of the Constitution and other laws which regulate the communal life of and relations between citizens.

Social activity largely develops in work collectives, which are the principal cells of socialist society. As they develop socialist emulation, collective work and promote innovations, the work collectives purposefully apply the activity and creativity of the working people in the process of labour, and in the management and planning of the economy.

Citizens take an increasing part in public organisations (trade unions, youth and women's organisations, cultural institutions, etc.), in parents' committees at schools, in the administration of socialist justice, in the service sphere and in the work of trade organisations and diverse inspection bodies. Every citizen has the right, by submitting an application, of lodging a complaint or making criticisms, to draw the attention of state bodies to shortcomings and insist on their being corrected.

In some socialist countries, an important form of democratic involvement is citizens' participation in such democratic organisations as the National Front in the GDR, the Patriotic People's Front in Hungary, and so on. Their work is carried on mostly in people's neighbourhoods. In the Hungarian People's Republic, the Patriotic People's Front has developed into the most extensive movement in the socialist social life. One of the principal features of the development

of socialist democracy is the growing responsibility of state bodies for the economic and social progress of their respective areas and territories.

The organisation of political life under socialism, as briefly described here, enables citizens to take part, in one form or another and in accordance with their inclinations and interests, in the life of society and, being conscious of their responsibility for themselves and for society as a whole, to devote all their energies to it. To quote an example, the elaboration and fulfilment of reciprocal undertakings in the course of socialist emulation is an expression of high democratic activity on the part of the working people, and shows how every collective and citizen can apply their experience and abilities to the best effect for themselves and society at large.

In the GDR (as in other socialist countries) one in four citizens is engaged in responsible work for the community.

The almost 200,000 elected deputies of the People's Delegations constitute a great political force. This force is seen to be many times greater, if one adds to it the over two million citizens doing gratuitous work in commissions, activist groups and numerous committees;

458,200 citizens, a third of them women, work in 80,500 standing commissions and activist groups of the local People's Delegations;

335,000 citizens, including 10,300 women and 40,000 young people, are members of 17,000 National Front committees;

53,448 citizens have been elected to and are active in 5,124 labour dispute committees in villages, city residential districts and producers' cooperatives;

50,194 citizens have been elected people's assessors at district and regional courts;

196,048 working people belong to commissions, committees and other elective bodies of workers' and peasants' inspection;

676,912 mothers and fathers take part in parents' committees and render assistance to general education schools in their work.¹

Bourgeois ideologists talk much of so-called change in the functions of the capitalist state today. The 'free democratic system', so-called pluralistic democracy and, above all, 'free elections' are praised to the skies as expressions of supreme democracy. People are told again and again that they do take part in solving matters of national importance since they have the opportunity to give preference to one party or another. The facts show, however, that the election system in the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as in the United States and other capitalist countries, excludes any free expression of will by hundreds of thousands of voters in elections to bourgeois state bodies. The huge machine of the mass media is set in motion by the ruling monopoly bourgeoisie so as to falsify the voters' choice. The existing economic and political relations of imperialist rule determine in ad-

¹ See: *Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR*, Staatsverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Berlin, 1971, S. 443.

vance the limits of bourgeois freedom and equality. That is clear from such measures as the 'emergency laws' and the 'ban on professions' in the FRG, the absence of guarantees of the right to work and violation of the right to express one's opinion freely. The infringement of other fundamental rights serves to intensify and extend the dictatorship of the monopolists and is directed against the constitutional rights of the overwhelming majority of the people.

Soviets of People's Deputies in the USSR, People's Delegations in the GDR (like the bodies of state authority in other socialist countries) are democratically elected bodies in which the working class in an alliance with the peasants organised in cooperatives, the socialist intelligentsia and other sections of the working people exercise their power.

The role of Soviets and of People's Delegations increases under the impact of the extending and ever more competent participation of the working people and work collectives in the management and planning of economic, social and cultural development.

The development of citizens' social activity as the basic feature of the socialist mode of life implies enhancement of deputies' prestige and the establishment of still closer contacts between deputies and the working people. It also implies that deputies must make use of working people's initiatives and ideas, and that the latter must be reflected in the measures conducted by state bodies and in other public acts. Through the People's Delegations, the working

people are drawn more and more effectively into running the affairs of the state. This practice also includes a determined struggle against red tape.

In the GDR, People's Delegations and their deputies concentrate their efforts on creating such material, social and cultural conditions as would facilitate all-round implementation of the socialist mode of life. Achieving a steady rise in the people's living standards and cultural level is central to the deputies' work. It is a question of practically combining further economic development with the enhancement of the socialist mode of life.

People's Delegations must influence economic and cultural development still more actively, paying constant attention to increasing the output of consumer goods, providing better amenities for towns and villages and improving living conditions, public education, health services, trade, public catering and everyday services.

Cooperation between deputies and constituents in their respective districts (territories) makes it possible to implement creatively and with greater initiative this principal goal of the policy pursued by the Marxist-Leninist parties, taking advantage of progressive experience and rational methods of solving these tasks. People's Delegations enhance their role in coordinating and making use of all the economic, political, cultural and intellectual possibilities present in given districts (territories) for the further development of a socialist way of life, relying on the work of public organisations. Their accountability to the

working people promotes the development of social activity.

In the process, greater demands are made of public organisations. In trade unions, youth and women's organisations, scientific and sports associations, professional and cultural unions and other organisations, working people join together on a voluntary basis for the satisfaction of their political, economic, cultural, occupational and athletic interests. Within the framework of these organisations, working people take advantage of all the varied opportunities which help them to gratify their specific interests, inclinations and hobbies, improve their skills and spend their free time intelligently.

An important place in the life of socialist society belongs to the trade unions. They direct their activities so as to give the working people an opportunity to learn how better to perform their role of architects of new social relations. This means that the leading working class exerts a substantial influence on the economy and public life through the trade unions.

'The work of the trade unions directly furthers the exercise of democracy in production, the basic sphere in which man's creative efforts are applied.

'The trade unions have the task above all of protecting the rights and interests of the working people, and actively dealing with everyday, social questions. But they would be unable to do much in this sphere if production did not develop, and if labour discipline and labour productivity did not rise. It is precisely because our trade unions are dedicated to

the working man's interests that their duty is to show concern for boosting production.¹¹

Factory councils or standing production conferences are an effective form of working people's participation in running production and in planning. In the Soviet Union, there are roughly 130,200 standing production conferences in which 5.5 million working people take part. They are guided by trade union branches and are empowered to hear management reports and make recommendations on the organisation of production, wages, production quotas, working conditions and the improvement of working people's living conditions and cultural services.

Under the Constitution of the GDR the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions is authorised to take part in dealing with problems connected with the work and life of the working people. Thus, all socio-political measures are the result of joint decisions by the SUPG Central Committee, the GDR Council of Ministers and the Trade Union Confederation Board. The Trade Union Confederation enjoys the right of legislative initiative.

In the Hungarian People's Republic, the trade unions enjoy the right to be consulted in matters concerning the appointment or dismissal of factory managers. They can veto management decisions contravening socialist labour legislation or the principles of socialist morality. The trade unions take part in the

¹¹ *Documents and Resolutions, XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p. 101.

distribution of enterprises' funds that go to meet the working people's social, cultural and other needs. The Hungarian trade unions have a membership accounting for 94 per cent of the gainfully employed population. The trade unions in the Bulgarian People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the other socialist countries exert an influence on the socialist mode of life in similar ways.

The trade unions use socialist emulation to concentrate the working people's efforts on successfully fulfilling the national economic plans. In September 1975, the working people of the Soviet Union marked the 40th anniversary of the Stakhanovite movement. This event set off new initiatives and moves for implementing the Tenth Five-Year Plan. Emulation increasingly helps raise the efficiency of production and improve the living conditions of the working people and their opportunities for wholesome leisure.

Of the more than 8,000,000 trade unionists in the GDR, 2,000,000 perform responsible functions as elected representatives. Among them are 250,848 chairmen of trade union primary branches who play an active role in solving different problems connected with ideological, political and educational work conducted at enterprises.

As a result of the efforts of numerous activists working on a voluntary basis and of representatives in elective bodies of state authority, as well as by means of suggestions and criticisms on the performance of state and public bodies, the trade unions take a prominent part in the life of society. To represent trade

union interests under socialism means to help bring about a state of affairs where every working person takes part in management and planning and has every suggestion submitted by him or her considered attentively and efficiently.

We have already mentioned that there are active socialist popular movements in a number of socialist countries, e.g., the Patriotic People's Front in Hungary, the National Front in the USSR and the GDR.

Describing the role of the National Front in the USSR, Gustav Husak said that it 'will continue to be a tested form of our political system. The National Front, with its numerous constituent organisations, creates all the necessary prerequisites for the realisation of the most diverse interests, activity and initiative of citizens and their participation in guiding and managing the affairs of society, and, simultaneously, for uniting their efforts in the building of socialism. Through the political parties and other organisations of the National Front, practically every citizen of the USSR has the opportunity to exercise his political rights and freedoms. The National Front is a broad platform of socialist democracy which we shall develop and perfect.'¹

Within the framework of such national popular movements the forces of the people unite in keeping with its fundamental interests.

¹ See: *XVth Congress of the CPCs, Prague, 12-16 April 1976*, p. 55 (in Russian).

Thus, the working people in the socialist countries are learning to shoulder, ever more resolutely and efficiently, the responsibility for solving the problems facing society. As a result, creative cooperation and participation in planning and management become an essential characteristic of the socialist mode of life.

3. The Socialist Mode of Life and Human Needs

In socialist society, human needs and their satisfaction ever more clearly serve as the starting point of economic, political, social, and cultural regulation. This objectively follows from the essence of socialism and is therefore characteristic of the new mode of life. 'Socialism alone will make possible the wide expansion of social production and distribution on scientific lines and their actual subordination to the aim of easing the lives of the working people and of improving their welfare as much as possible. Socialism alone can achieve this. And we know that it must achieve this, and in the understanding of this truth lies the whole complexity and the whole strength of Marxism.'¹

An aim as broad as this can only be achieved in the course of a long historical process. At the various

¹ V. I. Lenin, 'Speech at the First Congress of Economic Councils, May 26, 1918', *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 411.

stages of social development under socialism, the policy of the communist and workers' parties is focused on the needs whose satisfaction is of fundamental, vital significance to the life and further development of the working class and its allies. This started with Lenin's Decrees on Peace¹ and on Land². Such an approach is also expressed in the documents of party congresses in the fraternal socialist countries which state that the major task is to satisfy ever more fully the growing requirements of the working people.

It is indisputable that already today socialism effectively satisfies the working people's vital needs on the basis of a policy of peace and social progress.

For the first time in history, a situation has arisen in which friendly classes and social strata regard society's aims as their own and see a guarantee of their implementation in the building and further improvement of a developed socialist society. This tendency, in the context of the developing socialist mode of life, in no sense implies any uniformity of interests and needs of citizens. On the contrary, it

¹ The Decree on Peace was the first to be issued by the Soviet Government. It proposed that the governments concerned immediately start talks on a general peace without annexations and indemnities.

² The Decree on Land, one of the first decrees of the Soviet Government, defined new principles of landownership and land use. Private landownership was abolished; land could not be sold, leased or mortgaged; all land was proclaimed to be the property of the people.

promotes the all-round unfolding of the abilities and talents of the individual for the benefit of each person and the whole of socialist society.

What, then, are the fundamental requirements involved in this process, and what is being done for their better satisfaction?

Of course, Marx pointed out the simple fact that mankind must first of all eat, drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, science, art, religion, etc.; and that, consequently, the production of the immediate material means of subsistence forms the foundation¹ on the basis of which all the other aspects of social life must be explained. In this sense, we distinguish the material and the cultural and intellectual requirements of society and individuals.

The communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries proceed from the needs the satisfaction of which is regarded by most of the working people as being of particular importance to their physical, social, political, cultural, and intellectual development. This refers first of all to stable and firmly guaranteed satisfaction of the basic material needs for shelter, food, clothing, everyday services, schools, hospitals, etc. In this respect, the socialist countries map out the principal goals of their economic strategy way into the future. The supreme goal has always been the steady rise of living and cultural standards. Simultaneously they determine the ways and

¹ See: F. Engels, 'Speech at the Graveside of Karl Marx', in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, in three volumes, Vol. 3, p. 162.

means towards this end. Among them are ensuring the dynamic, balanced development of social production, raising its efficiency, speeding up the progress of science and technology, increasing labour productivity, and improving the quality of work in the whole of the national economy as well as in individual industries.

Such unity of aspirations and efforts in this sphere shows the universal character of the objective law of increasing needs. Under socialism, this law is for the first time applied methodically and consciously for man's good, operating under essentially new conditions in a developed socialist society. This provides the best example of the responsibility evinced by each socialist country in employing the available possibilities as fully as possible in the interests of its own people and the entire socialist community. It also shows the immense potentialities present for developing a mode of life at high material and cultural level, while making use of socialist economic integration for the good of the socialist community as a whole and each particular country. The lofty humanitarian aim of better satisfying growing material and cultural requirements makes high demands on every worker in terms of conscientious, efficient work. In contrast to capitalism, where the working people's labour inevitably causes more intensive stratification of society, the poor becoming poorer and the rich richer, under socialism the working people know at first hand that they themselves reap the results of their work. The peaceful, emancipated,

creative labour of millions in all the fraternal socialist countries is a source of increasing well-being, of better living and working conditions, and of notable achievements in health protection, education and culture, i.e., of all that contributes to the formation and all-round development of the individual, and the improvement of the socialist way of life. Socially guaranteed and increasingly creative labour, which is the basis of the socialist mode of life, gradually becomes a vital necessity.

There is no disputing the fact that one can only consume what was created by labour. If you want to live better, you must work better. That is an old truth that still holds. So, in socialist society, each member must contribute by his work, depending on his abilities, to the growing prosperity of society. The socialist principle of distribution according to work done and the ever better satisfaction of citizens' requirements are closely interrelated.

This is how Marx described the meaning of this principle in the first phase of the communist social formation: 'Accordingly, the individual producer receives back from society—after the deductions have been made—exactly what he gives to it. What he has given to it is his individual quantum of labour. . . . The equality consists in the fact that measurement is made with an *equal standard*, labour.'¹ In contrast to the profit-motivated basis of distribution under

¹ K. Marx, F. Engels, 'Marginal Notes to the Programme of the German Workers' Party', in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, in three volumes, Vol. 3, pp. 17, 18.

capitalism, this new principle of distribution expresses a profoundly humane objective and the concrete social justice existing under socialism. It serves to satisfy material, cultural and intellectual requirements and engenders new incentives not known in exploiting societies. Simultaneously, new needs gradually appear, e.g., the need to derive satisfaction from one's work, to take an active part in everything that goes on in life and work, to help and cooperate with others, to improve one's skills, and numerous other needs. One's personal interest—material and moral—in the results of production is enhanced by socialist emulation, which increases one's desire to work according to one's abilities and develop them further. However, not all social differences essential to one's private way of life, which spring from different personal circumstances such as the number of dependants in the family, can be overcome in the first phase, under socialism. This gives rise to non-antagonistic contradictions, which can only be overcome gradually as labour is increasingly socialised and its productivity rises. The overcoming of these contradictions is guaranteed by distribution according to work done, all prerequisites being provided for the development and employment of man's abilities.

This aim is served by a steady rise in personal earned incomes, which are the main source of citizens' material well-being in the socialist countries. Between 1970 and 1975, real wages and salaries increased by 16-20 per cent in the CMEA countries,

rising as much as 41 per cent in Poland. Increases in real wages are simultaneously promoted to a great extent by the steady growth of social funds and their use for the satisfaction of citizens' needs. With the help of social funds, better conditions are provided for the further development of the socialist mode of life.

In all socialist countries, the socialist principle of distribution according to work done is fundamental to the formation of a socialist way of life.

In considering the gains of socialism with respect to the satisfaction of vital material needs, one can see that they are the result of hard work which often has to be carried out under difficult conditions.

One example of the satisfaction of people's needs is the expansion of housing construction. In the five years between 1971 and 1975 the CMEA countries built an average of 8.3 flats per 1,000 persons: 6.8 flats in Poland, 7.2 in the GDR and Romania, 8.4 in Hungary, and 8.7 and 8.9 respectively in Czechoslovakia and the USSR.

Over the same period, the corresponding figures were 6.3 and 5.6 flats per 1,000 persons in the EEG countries and the USA respectively.

If in addition one considers the fact that, regardless of all construction activity, there are in the FRG, for example, over 500,000 persons registered as homeless and forced to live in miserable hovels, while about 300,000 comfortable new flats stay untenanted on account of exorbitant rents, it will be easy to draw conclusions about that particular mode

of life. This corroborates once again the words of Engels that the solution of the housing problem lies in the 'abolition of the capitalist mode of production and the appropriation of all the means of subsistence and instruments of labour by the working class itself'.¹ Capitalism is incapable of solving the housing problem in the interests of the working people.

Low and stable rents have become a matter of course in the socialist countries.

In the USSR, rents, including lighting, kitchen gas, heating and water supply, amount, as a rule, to 4 or 5 per cent of a family's income, and to 4.5 per cent of the income of a family of four in the GDR. In the FRG, these expenditures make up about 20.8 per cent of a family's income, and they keep growing at that.

The working people of the socialist countries, led by the communist and workers' parties, are using all kinds of state, cooperative, individual and factory housing construction to carry out an old aim of the working-class revolutionary struggle, having put the solution of the housing problem, as a social problem, at the hub of their social programmes.

Nevertheless, the solution of the housing problem as a social one, the satisfaction of the vital need for housing in the interests of promoting the socialist mode of life, is not confined merely to the construction and distribution of comfortable flats, to be had

¹ F. Engels, 'The Housing Question', in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, in three volumes, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, p. 353.

at low and stable rents. Since the quality of satisfaction of this basic need has a great effect on the further development of all aspects of life, socialist solutions involve the simultaneous construction of social amenities, viz., kindergartens and crèches, schools, old people's homes, medical and services establishments, supermarkets, and cultural and sport facilities.

The CMEA countries use from 10 to 18 per cent of all capital investments in the economy to provide such material prerequisites of the socialist mode of life.

The all-round concern shown by socialist society for citizens' health and physical, intellectual and social development is of great importance for the better satisfaction of their needs and hence to the further improvement of the socialist mode of life. The principle that rules in capitalist society is 'a poor man lives but a short time'. There, working men and women in urgent need of medical treatment forego it for fear of losing their jobs.

In the capitalist countries today extensive measures are under way for switching to an overt offensive on social spending. In Great Britain and the FRG cuts have been made in health insurance. Hospital meals and medicines are scrimped and patients checked out before their time. Similar measures are contemplated in France and Denmark.

In socialist society, it has long been a matter of course that care for citizens' health is extensive, all-round and free, society bearing the expenses. The

broad system of measures extends to all areas of medical care, from maternity consultation services to careful concern for the aged. In 1976, there were 74 hospital beds per 10,000 persons in Poland, 86 in Bulgaria, 81 in Hungary, about 78 in Czechoslovakia, about 89 in Romania, 108 in the GDR, and 119 in the Soviet Union. The number of doctors per 10,000 persons is 16 in Romania, 22 in Poland, almost 26 in Bulgaria, 33 in the USSR, and 20 in the Mongolian People's Republic. The people's better health, high life expectancy (72.6-74.3 years for women and 64-68.6 for men) and a very low infant mortality are the results of this policy pursued for the good of man.

In the developed capitalist countries, doctors' fees, the cost of hospital treatment and the prices of medicines are rising continually. The obstacles this raises to the satisfaction of prime human needs are obvious.

In developed socialist society, one's desire to maintain one's health and ability to work till late in life receives effective support. The numerous social measures taken towards this end include systematic education and propagation of a healthy diet and regular hours making for physical fitness and mental balance. A special role in this belongs to the all-round improvement of living and working conditions and elimination of arduous and health hazardous jobs.

The all-round development of physical culture, sport and leisure also helps lay a solid material foundation for the further promotion of the socialist mode

of life. The steadfast policy of better and better satisfying the people's basic material, cultural and intellectual requirements will be continued in step with the further formation and improvement of developed socialist society at an ever higher level and in line with society's growing economic possibilities.

The steady growth in living standards also makes for less drudgery in the home and more wholesome ways of spending leisure time.

The Marxist-Leninist parties and the socialist states consistently follow the dictum that the socialist mode of life cannot develop nor can a developed socialist society be built unless the people's material needs are satisfied to an ever greater extent. The orientation towards a fuller satisfaction of material needs in no sense implies any restriction or underestimation of the cultural, intellectual and social needs of the working people. Proceeding from the satisfaction of material needs as the indispensable basis of the socialist mode of life, it has become possible for the first time in history to ensure plan-based satisfaction of the growing cultural, intellectual and social requirements of all citizens. The results achieved in the process are an expression of the advantages of socialism.

Under socialism, men's cultural, intellectual and social needs are linked with their material needs. The satisfaction of vital, basic material wants, as well as the production of the means thereof, is determined by the social possibilities of socialist society. A related problem is protection of the environment,

as an indispensable condition of citizens' wholesome recreation and good health.

The Marxist-Leninist parties of the socialist countries, which are guided by the same principles, pursue, in keeping with concrete conditions, a unified economic and social policy so as to perfect the socialist mode of life.

This policy aims at creating favourable conditions which would allow all citizens, both at work and in the family circle, to satisfy more fully their growing cultural and intellectual requirements, consistent with the socialist mode of life.

Consequently, the satisfaction of material, cultural and intellectual requirements is an integral part of the socialist mode of life. In this sense, the socialist mode of life is inconceivable without either a steadily better satisfaction of reasonable material needs or a full intellectual life, without a developed socialist consciousness.

Organising the interaction between the material, cultural and intellectual spheres constitutes a new historical task. It consists, on the one hand, in making the growing labour productivity in socialist society, and hence the growing well-being of all citizens, serve the all-round development of abilities and talents for the benefit of each individual and the whole of society, and, on the other, in ensuring that the satisfied needs engender fresh initiatives aimed at making the socialist economy more efficient and perfecting the vital processes occurring in society at large.

Naturally, in dealing with this complex interaction one has to cope with numerous contradictions. Not all goes without a hitch, without certain temporary setbacks. Therefore, the practical realisation of the afore-mentioned aim demands that everything should be done for the benefit of the people, to boost the activity of the working people in the economic, political, social, cultural and intellectual fields. This requires a growth in social awareness based on a scientific foundation, an awareness which itself spells the satisfaction of a major intellectual need.

An indispensable condition here is the ideological work conducted by the Marxist-Leninist party and the socialist state. This work helps the working people to become aware of their complex and varied needs and to see what concrete steps, starting with material production and ending with the implementation of the socialist principles of distribution, should be taken so as to provide, by socialist methods, for the satisfaction of requirements which are reproduced and developed in the very process of it. It would be hard to overestimate the importance of socialist consciousness in organising the working people's efforts in all branches of the economy so as to make combination of the interests of the individual, group and society a motive force of social progress.

At the 25th CPSU Congress General Secretary of the CC CPSU Leonid Brezhnev said in this connection: 'But it is necessary that the growth of material opportunities should be constantly accompanied

by a growth in our people's ideological, moral and cultural level. Otherwise we may have relapses into the philistine, petty-bourgeois mentality. This should not be lost sight of.

The higher the level of our society in its development, the more intolerable are the still occurring departures from the socialist rules of morality. Acquisitiveness, proprietary tendencies, hooliganism, red tape and indifference to one's fellow humans run against the very grain of our system. In combating such phenomena, there is a need to make full use of the opinion of the working collective, criticism in the press, methods of persuasion and the force of the law—all the instruments at our disposal.¹

Ensuring the steady growth of the socialist economy and making production more efficient inevitably require an immense effort. But this is the sole, indispensable and dependable basis for the further balanced growth of living standards, and hence the satisfaction of the growing material, cultural and intellectual needs. The socialist organisation of labour extends the socialist character of the satisfaction of the requirements of man and society.

This means, in the first place, that the ever greater opportunities for the satisfaction of needs should benefit those, above all, who make a major contribution to material production. This refers especially to the needs of the working class and their satisfaction in

¹ *Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p. 94.

accordance with its growing contribution to production, social role, and responsibility, but does not mean that the needs of the other classes and sections are overlooked.

Linked with this aspect of the balanced development of the socialist character of the satisfaction of needs is another essential problem, namely, that all working people should earn the means necessary for the satisfaction of their needs by socialist methods, i.e., that they should be unable to derive unearned income. This means that an interrelationship between production and the satisfaction of needs in socialist society is established and regulated through consistently applying the socialist principle of distribution according to work done. Consistent implementation of the principle 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his work' is a potent driving force of economic and social progress.

This principle rests on the objective economic laws of socialism and is, therefore, an objective necessity in socialist society. Its operation cannot be changed arbitrarily nor can the communist principle of distribution according to needs be 'introduced' prematurely. In his *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Marx pointed out the conditions necessary for later passing on to the communist principles of distribution, viz., overcoming the individual's subordination to the division of labour; abolishing the antithesis between mental work and physical labour; making work a prime vital necessity; and, of course, 'after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round

development of the individual, and all the springs of cooperative wealth flow more abundantly...²¹

Thus, a steady application of the socialist principle of distribution according to work done is the only, as well as the best, possible way to provide the conditions for passing gradually to the higher stage of development described by Marx.

It is the source of the people's growing affluence, as a result of their personal, socially useful labour recognised by society.

Thus, the confidence that the working people have on the strength of their own experience in that in socialist society their work serves the satisfaction of their own and social needs and interests is an important advantage of existing socialism, which promotes the historic advance of socialist society along the road of progress and further flourishing.

4. *Working Time and Free Time, Marriage and the Family, Education and Culture Under the Socialist Mode of Life*

The socialist mode of life develops as the working man's way of life at work and in his free time. Being part of the life of an individual, working time, through its content, i.e., the character of the work and the relations in the work collective, influences his behaviour in his free time.

²¹ Karl Marx, 'Critique of the Gotha Programme', in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, in three volumes, Vol. 3, p. 19.

Production activity is closely linked with education and culture. In socialist society, they are not a privilege of the few but are shared in common by all members of society. The further socialism develops, the more opportunities it affords the working people for general education and technical training, and the greater the extent to which socialist culture is embodied in the people's way of life.

WORKING TIME AND FREE TIME

Under socialism, socially useful labour and one's personal part in the labour process are held in high esteem by society. The most valuable trait of human character under socialism is man's profound respect for work. One's own honest work and respect for the work of others and for the results of this work are an integral part of socialist consciousness. There neither is, nor can there be, any other way of attaining personal well-being; there neither is, nor can there be, any other cause of moral satisfaction and social prestige, besides one's own work and services rendered to the people, the state, and socialism.

This is the basis on which the correlation between working and free time develops under socialism. In the ČSSR, over the years of building socialism, working time has decreased to 42.5 hours a week, and for shift workers, to 41.5 hours. In the USSR, the working week is 41 hours, and in the GDR, 43.75 hours.

With a minimum holiday of 18 weekdays, two weekly days off, and legal holidays during the calen-

dar year, most of the working people have 129 days free from work, which they devote to rest, social activities, physical culture and sport, further education, etc.

In the course of the scientific and technological revolution, work is, on the one hand, constantly enriched with creative elements and made easier through mechanisation and elimination of arduous jobs. On the other hand, with the change over to large-scale production, assembly-line methods and the organisation of production processes on the basis of division of labour, work tends to become monotonous. These circumstances, and the objective need for the further intensification of all production processes, affect free time, too.

The intellectual growth and social activity of the working people are also promoted by various opportunities for skill improvement and participation in social life. Relations of mutual assistance and support develop in the process of work. The middle-aged are also enabled to pursue various jobs in accordance with their wishes.

Since under socialism the working people themselves are the owners of the means of production, for the first time in human history, it becomes possible to reproduce labour power through an intelligent use of free time towards this end. Thus, a study of industrial workers' free time in the GDR and other socialist countries indicates the priority of leisure requirements and activities directly connected with the reproduction of labour power, such as physical relaxation,

vigorous outdoor exercise, varied intellectual activities, and so on. The working people's new social status and versatile cultural needs under socialism are evidenced by the wide range of varied social activities they pursue in their free time and the longer time they spend on getting an education, improving their skills, and pursuing art and all sorts of hobbies.

Of great importance to leisure is the abundance of cultural and intellectual benefits placed at man's disposal by art, the mass media and cultural institutions. A problem that arises here is that cultural institutions, as well as the volume and standards of artistic output, do not always meet the people's constantly growing and varied cultural requirements.

Thus, in the course of building a developed socialist society the task arises of providing not only longer free time, but also greater and more varied opportunities for its intelligent use.

THE FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

Under socialism, the family is the basic kind of human community. The communist and workers' parties see the promotion of stable family relations as a major aim of their policy.

Social relations as a whole provide the foundation for the socially secure existence of families under socialism. In socialist society, for the first time in history, the objective social prerequisites have emerged which have made it possible for family relations to develop without either economic dependence or

social privileges. These relations usually rest on mutual love and respect, equality of the spouses and the parents' concern for their children and their proper upbringing. Such hangovers of former family relations as the authoritarian position of the head of the family, the subordinate position of women, insulation of the family from social influences, and obsolete patriarchal, feudal and pre-feudal traditions are being eliminated on the basis of the new social relations, the traditions of the socialist mode of life, and working-class ideology and morality.

The close-knit socialist family exerts a strong influence on the life of society. The family surroundings and the moral atmosphere of the family give an impulse to the development of the socialist individual and the socialist mode of life. Love and relations between the sexes under socialism are part of a full life. They become natural signs of the cultural level of socialist individuals. Lenin stressed that 'communism ought to bring with it not asceticism but joy of life and good cheer called forth, among other things, by a life replete with love'.¹

The new, socialist family relations cannot take shape independently of the practical solution of diverse social problems. Pursuing one's calling and making progress in it, engaging in social work and improving one's skills, bringing up children and, above all, influencing their general education and cha-

¹ Klara Zetkin, *My Recollections of Lenin*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1956, p. 65.

racter formation, all these factors make exacting demands on all members of the family. From them spring numerous duties and obligations which require much time and effort on the part of parents, and if both husband and wife work, which is the case in most families, they can cope with them successfully and maintain the family's well-being only by sharing them, helping and supporting each other, and making full use of public catering and other services provided by society.

Both social and personal interest in a stable and full family life stems, among other things, from the problems associated with the upbringing of children. Concern for children is typical of socialist society. Children are the meaning and happiness of married life. To bring them up healthy and cheerful socialist individuals is a responsible public duty which parents in socialist society carry out jointly with teachers, socialist children's and youth organisations, and the public at large.

The Marxist-Leninist parties and socialist states show particular concern for large families. Apart from considerable material aid, such families also enjoy public recognition and are held in great esteem in socialist society.

The socialist state promotes a harmonious development of family relations. It systematically increases social consumption funds, improves living and working conditions for mothers, and concerns itself with children's education and upbringing. This does not absolve families from their own responsibility in

bringing up their children and making good use of the opportunities they have.

The equal legal status of both parents greatly enriches family life. This equality gradually wipes out the old pattern of family responsibilities. Both husband and wife are equally responsible for looking after and bringing up their children and share housework. Women's professional activities, an important expression of actual equality, exert a decisive influence on the shaping of socialist relations in the family. In the home, however, this process does not always go smoothly either for men or for women. Despite a greater tendency towards a fair distribution of duties among family members, the burden of looking after the children and the home falls mainly on women. Therefore, the socialist state and public organisations spare no efforts to make it easier for women to take care of their home and children.

Much is being done in the socialist countries to stabilise family relations, duly prepare young people for married life, and give assistance to families concerning the birth and bringing up of children. The social measures include maternity leaves of several months (before and after childbirth), maternity and family allowances, and gratuitous medical care for expectant mothers and mothers. These measures are intended to boost the birth rate, and they yield good results. In the USSR, for example, the birth rate in 1971-75 was 22 per cent higher than in 1966-70, placing the USSR third in Europe in that respect.

Family growth is greatly influenced by the improve-

ment of living conditions as vast housing construction programmes are carried out in all the socialist countries. The Marxist-Leninist parties and socialist community countries see the building up of the family as a major objective of their policy aimed at improving living standards and cultural conditions.

Socialist society provides favourable prerequisites for the family, but much depends on its members themselves. The development of the family is above all the responsibility of the spouses themselves. Sometimes conflicts arise which result in divorce. There may be numerous specific reasons for divorce. Yet a common characteristic is that, since marriage is free from economic dependence, material and property considerations are hardly ever involved. Greater mutual demands are made by the spouses on each other concerning the organisation of their life, its content, and the quality of conjugal relations.

Socialist family and marital relations presuppose a community of aims in life, regular intellectual intercourse, understanding of each other's problems, and interest in the work and social activities of the other members of the family, besides one's own. These relations rest on joint organisation of free time, mutual confidence, support and respect for each member of the family as an individual. Family life filled with intellectual content and marked by a high living standard is an important aspect of the socialist mode of life.

EDUCATION UNDER SOCIALISM

According to the latest figures of the UN Food and Agricultural Organisation, the Earth is inhabited by about 4,000 million people. More than 800 million of them are illiterate (740 million in 1960). The number of people who can neither read nor write will probably keep growing, says the FAO survey. In the USA, for example, 13 per cent of the total adult population is illiterate. Forty per cent—about 250 million—of all children on the globe between the ages of six and thirteen (800,000 in the United States) cannot attend school. These disgraceful facts of capitalist reality express the vices of that social system in the social sphere.

The developing countries currently account for 60 per cent of the earth's illiterates. The latter make up 46.8 per cent of the population in Asia, 73.7 per cent in the Arab and African countries, and 23.6 per cent in Latin America (UN statistics).

An example of a cardinal solution of this problem is provided by the socialist countries. After the October Revolution, one of the first measures of the young Soviet Republic was to set up, in 1920, a commission to combat illiteracy. (There were about 100 million illiterates in the country at that time.) Illiteracy was stamped out in an exceedingly short time. As early as 1939, there were 15.9 million Soviet citizens boasting a higher and secondary (complete or incomplete) education. There were 126.1 million such persons in 1977.

Cuba, the first socialist country in Latin America, brought the proportion of illiterates down to 4 per cent in ten years, and today has eliminated illiteracy completely. The socialist community countries have not only done away with illiteracy but simultaneously attained a much higher level in education than the capitalist countries.

The socialist countries, in the course of building a developed socialist society, set out to improve the results attained during the cultural revolution. The socialist community countries are at present carrying out a change-over to universal secondary education. New differentiated forms of secondary education are being introduced with a view to developing children's abilities and talents. Specialised secondary and higher education, as well as the adult education system, are being methodically expanded in accordance with greater social requirements and opportunities. This is one of the conditions providing for man's all-round development in socialist society, greater social activity on the part of the working people, and the upgrading of occupational and specialised knowledge and skills.

The Marxist-Leninist parties, taking account of the social significance of these measures, determine the lines along which education and culture should be developed in the socialist community countries. Thus, the Bulgarian Communist Party, at its 11th Congress, defined the targets in the area of public education as follows: 'During the five-year period, to complete, in the main, the switch-over to universal

secondary education. To ensure conditions for all young people to integrally combine instruction, creative development and efficient work. To pay more attention to the vocational orientation of youth. To improve the training and retraining of teachers.

To see to it that the need for highly-qualified graduate experts in the national economy is satisfied more fully. To improve the content, organisation and regulation of the educational process, introduce modern technical teaching aids on a large scale, and enhance the creative principle in college education.

The uniform system of specialisation, periodical training at refresher courses and skill improvement will be developed further. Measures will be taken to raise the educational standards of production workers up to 40 years of age, to increase their enrolment at correspondence and evening schools. Workers with a secondary education should form the nucleus of the production force.¹

A system providing general education and vocational training, and further training for adults has been functioning in the GDR ever since the mid-1950s.

Pre-school education of children from the age of three is carried on at kindergartens of an ordinary kind and at day-and-night kindergartens open five days a week. Pre-school education promotes children's physical and intellectual development and helps

¹ 11th Congress of the BCP, Sofia, 29 March-2 April 1976, Politizdat, Moscow, 1976, pp. 170-71 (in Russian).

prepare them for school. The kindergarten population increased from 645 per 1,000 in 1970 to 824 per 1,000 in 1975.¹

General education polytechnical (compulsory) secondary schools are central to the education and instruction of children and adolescents. During their ten years at school children and adolescents are instructed in the fundamentals of the major sciences and humanities, in their native language and a foreign language (e.g. Russian), and receive a musical and aesthetic education. Such subjects as Introduction to Socialist Production and a Day of Learning in Production, taught at all schools, provide for polytechnical training, which is actively assisted by state and co-operative enterprises. Instruction in sports serves the pupils' physical and athletic development. In 1970-75, the proportion of pupils who passed to the 9th form of secondary school increased from 82.5 to 91.6 per cent. Year 1980 marks the transition to universal attendance of ten-year schools. The situation is the same in most of the socialist community countries.

Ten-year school leavers have great opportunities for continuing their education. At extended polytechnical secondary schools in the GDR, as in other socialist community countries, attention is focused on specialised training of children gifted in mathematics, physics and humanities.

Vocational training is carried on through a broad system of vocational schools for secondary school

¹ Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR, Berlin, 1976, S. 30.

graduates and working people in all occupations. In the GDR, ten-year school leavers are trained on a job for two or three years, depending on the trade they choose, after which they take qualifying examinations to be skilled workers. Vocational training is given by competent experts and instructors (specialist teachers, master craftsmen and skilled worker instructors) using the facilities of public and cooperative enterprises, offices and organisations, repair shops and service establishments. Vocational and theoretical training is given at 276 municipal and 693 factory vocational schools. Young people also have an opportunity to receive vocational training along with their General Education Certificate at specialised vocational schools, which prepare them for entering a college in their chosen field. The vocational schools in the GDR have an annual enrolment of over 200,000. In the socialist community countries, the right to education is guaranteed by the constitution and is provided for by the public education and vocational training system. The state and public organisations see to it that all school leavers, after completing their training, take up jobs or go on to college. Since 1973 in the GDR, more than 99 per cent of secondary school leavers have been receiving vocational training. In contrast, in the FRG between the 1970/71 and 1973/74 school years, the number of places of instruction in the vocational training system was reduced by 56.8 per cent. As a result of this policy, for which the big concerns are to blame in the first place, there will be about 1.4 million young peo-

ple in the FRG in 1986 without a chance of receiving an adequate education. The newspaper of the big bourgeoisie, the *Frankfurter allgemeine Zeitung*, wrote on December 19, 1976, about the 'worst crisis in education in the history of the Federal Republic'.

The specialised secondary and higher schools form a harmonious system for training qualified experts at the middle and upper level.

Between 1965 and 1976, the number of those graduated from specialised secondary and higher schools in the socialist community countries nearly doubled.

Adult education and further training occupy a special place. A great contribution to building up the socialist mode of life is made by combining the working people's priceless experience with thorough knowledge of the natural and social sciences, and by constantly increasing technical qualifications and general knowledge. The number of workers in the GDR who attended classes in the system of education and further training increased from 532,830 in 1971 to 655,500 in 1975.

The system of specialised secondary and higher education by correspondence is being expanded. Colleges, universities, scientific centres and management bodies conduct regular refresher programmes and take measures for improving the qualifications of personnel. At extension universities one can obtain a certificate of an 8-, 10- or 12-year school education, and be trained in general education subjects, languages, pedagogics, psychology, shorthand and typing.

Owing to these varied opportunities for obtaining a general education and to the vocational and refresher courses training system, a uniform (albeit differentiated to a certain extent) national educational standard is gradually being attained and the skill level of the working people is growing steadily.

The achievements of the socialist education system in the GDR are borne out by the fact that in 1975 65.3 per cent of the gainfully employed population between the ages of 25 and 30 had a 10- or 12-year secondary education. The corresponding figure for those aged 45 to 50 was merely 13.5 per cent.

Under socialism, there are none of the marked social distinctions arising from differences in education so typical of the capitalist countries. Nor does the problem of youth unemployment and the impossibility for secondary school graduates to receive a specialised education exist in socialist society. The growth in educational and skill standards is evidenced by the steadily increasing numbers of citizens who have graduated from vocational and specialised schools in the socialist community countries.

The steadily rising skill level of the working people is a common achievement of existing socialism. The number of graduate experts keeps growing in the socialist countries. The latter allocate more and more funds for implementing the vast programme in the area of education, training thousands of young teachers every year and opening schools and universities, scientific centres and colleges.

CULTURE AND THE SOCIALIST MODE OF LIFE

The socialist cultural revolution crushed the domination of bourgeois ideology in the life of society. In socialist countries, all citizens are given an opportunity to master the scientific philosophy of the working class.

Socialism has achieved much in the field of art and in preserving the cultural heritage. Great attention is paid to the development of art, literature, music, the cinema and the theatre.

High demands are made on ideological content and aesthetic standards of artistic productions. Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CC CPGz, said in this connection at the 15th CPGz Congress: 'Our people make high demands on culture, on artistic creative work. They want it to be deeply true and convincing. Therefore, we appraise works of art from the standpoint of both their artistic value and their ideological content. Art permeated with Communist Party spirit, which, through socialist realism and a wealth of expressive means, reflects the many-sided life of the people and their struggle, will always be supported by the Party and people.'¹

Much attention is paid in the socialist countries to

¹ 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Prague, 12-16 April 1976, Politizdat, Moscow, 1977, pp. 82-83 (in Russian).

the development of cultural institutions. Thousands of new houses of culture, clubs, cinemas, concert halls and theatres have been opened. In all socialist community countries new film studios, television centres and radio stations, including relay stations have been commissioned. More and more people listen to the radio and watch television. Much free time is devoted to reading books, newspapers and magazines, to listening to the radio, records, tape and cassette recordings and watching television.

An artistic culture blending the historical achievements of world art and national artistic traditions is developing in the socialist countries, and favourable conditions are being created for the development of all arts and genres.

The network of printing and publishing houses, book shops and libraries is growing, the production of records, magnetic tapes and cassettes is increasing, and new theatrical companies, bands and orchestras are being formed. Academies, art schools, and specialised secondary and higher education establishments have been opened or reorganised for training young writers, artists and musicians. Thus there has gradually emerged in the socialist countries a uniform pattern of artistic culture, socialist in content, which makes it possible to organise and develop all the arts. The growth in artistic output in the socialist community countries creates the essential material conditions under which the working people can secure the full development of all their capabilities and equal rights

to enjoy all the achievements of science and art.¹

The Marxist-Leninist parties in the socialist community countries concern themselves with the development of creative artistic work and protect the achievements of the national culture and the artistic traditions of each people; they strive to use to an ever greater extent the progressive achievements of world culture to further the development of the socialist national cultures, and favour their drawing together. Ever since they came into being, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have spared neither effort nor money to protect, preserve and restore historical architectural monuments and reconstruct urban ensembles. Particularly impressive are the achievements of the Polish working people, who restored the centre of the Old Town in Warsaw after the Second World War. Protection of relics of the past in the socialist countries is a matter of national importance and as such is carried out in a planned fashion and in accordance with the same principles throughout the territory of each country. Foreign visitors to Moscow, Warsaw, Prague, Budapest, Bucharest, Berlin and other cities and towns in the socialist countries see for themselves that the protection and development of the cultural heritage there is based on a solid footing. This aspect of cultural policy is founded on the humanistic principles of working-class

¹ V. I. Lenin, 'Draft and Explanation of a Programme for the Social-Democratic Party', *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 108.

ideology, which advocate the assimilation of 'what is really worth preserving in historically inherited culture—science, art, forms of intercourse—[so that it] may not only be preserved but converted from a monopoly of the ruling class into the common property of the whole of society, and may be further developed'.¹

Today music of every period and nation is played in the concert halls of the socialist countries, ancient, medieval and modern works of art are carefully preserved in art galleries, and great works of national and world literature are studied in school, becoming the people's intellectual property. The slander spread by adherents of anti-communism about the 'hostility' allegedly shown in the socialist countries towards culture has long ceased to impress anyone.

In contrast to capitalist society, with its economic conflicts, warped morality and perennial cultural crises, socialism ensures steady cultural progress. The wealth of intellectual culture and the socialist countries' possibilities in that regard are increasing from year to year, while the growing cultural needs of the working people are satisfied owing to the advantages of socialism in diverse areas of social life. In the socialist countries perfecting the socialist mode of life, 'the true wealth is the developed productive power of all individuals'.²

¹ F. Engels, 'The Housing Question', in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Works*, in three volumes, Vol. 2, p. 312.

² Karl Marx, *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie*, Moskau, 1939, S. 596.

THE HISTORICAL ROLE OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY

1. Emergence and Development of the World Socialist System

Ever since the victorious Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia the formation and strengthening of world socialism has been the general trend in the development of history.

In the course of its development, the new social system has been ever more fully and steadily realising its fundamental socio-economic and political advantages over moribund capitalism.

Viewed from this angle, the history of socialism falls into two long stages. The first of them is characterised by the consolidation and all-round development of the new social system within the borders of one country—the Soviet Union. The existence of the world's first country of victorious socialism was a giant step forward in the development of all mankind, which decisively influenced the entire subsequent course of history. Capitalism as a world economic and political system was dealt a crushing blow. At the same time, the existence of the Soviet Union gave the revolutionary forces, above all the international working class, a mighty weapon in their struggle for remaking the world.

The second historical stage in the development of socialism set in after socialism went beyond the borders of one country and became a world economic and political system. The strengthening of this system is the realisation of the advantages of the new social system on an international scale.

Each stage in the development of the world socialist system implies an ever more complete and all-round unfolding of the potentialities inherent in the socialist social system.

The emergence of the world socialist system is inseparable from the Great October Socialist Revolution and the existence and successes of the first socialist country in the world, from the Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War. The popular democratic revolutions in a number of European and Asian countries; their development into socialist revolutions; the establishment of workers' power in these countries; and the close alliance between the young socialist states and the Soviet Union—all these were a direct continuation of the cause of the Great October Revolution and an international triumph of Marxism-Leninism.

The emergence of the world socialist system and the formation of a community of fraternal socialist states marked the spread of politically organised socialism beyond the borders of one country. It caused radical changes in the internal development of each of the two opposite socio-economic systems and in the balance of forces between socialism and capital-

ism on the international scene. From then on, the new social system began to realise its advantages on an international scale. As a whole group of countries broke away from capitalism, the sphere of domination of international capital was reduced, and its internal positions were considerably weakened. The formation of the world socialist system wrought extensive, irreversible changes in the world capitalist economy, speeding the collapse of the imperialist colonial system and the appearance on the world political map of a big group of developing countries. At present, the contradictions inherent in the economic and political development of the imperialist countries have been aggravated, and the maturing of conditions favourable to the transition of more and more countries and peoples to socialism has accelerated many times over. Capitalism has exhausted its progressive potentialities both as a world economic and a world political system, though it still accounts for a big share of world industrial and agricultural output.

The socialist revolutions in a growing number of countries, which have become a starting point for and a determining factor in the emergence of the world socialist system, are a major condition for revealing the advantages of socialism on an international scale. The socialist revolutions carried out in the postwar period in many European and Asian countries have disclosed most deeply and forcefully the international character of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the internationalist nature of socialism.

Lenin pointed out in his time that the October Revolution in Russia had marked the beginning of the irreversible process of the world's revolutionary renovation. He wrote: '...the whole world is now passing to a movement that must give rise to a world socialist revolution.¹ Indeed, in the period of the general crisis of capitalism, the further objective and subjective prerequisites of transition from the first stage of the world socialist revolution, which brought into being the sole socialist country in the world, to its second stage, marked by the triumph of socialism in a number of countries and the emergence of a world socialist system, have begun to mature.

Lenin stressed, besides, that the revolution in Russia had blazed the path to socialism for other countries and peoples. Addressing the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, he said: 'This path of ours is the right one, for it is the path which, sooner or later, all other countries must inevitably take.'²

It is through the revolutions which established the new social system in a whole range of countries in Europe and Asia that the advantages offered by socialism and enjoyed theretofore by one country only can now be reaped by many countries. Thanks to revolutions, socialism, with its inexhaustible potential for economic growth and improvement of the peo-

¹ V. I. Lenin, 'Better Fewer, but Better', *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 499.

² V. I. Lenin, 'Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets', *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 161.

ple's living standards, has been brought within the reach of hundreds of millions of people in different parts of the globe.

The revolutions in Europe and Asia brilliantly corroborated the international character of Leninism and the fundamental proposition of Lenin's doctrine that the transition to socialism is an irreversible process of history. In the epoch of imperialism and the general crisis of capitalism both countries which have attained a high or medium level of capitalist development and countries at a low level of capitalist development (and even those at a pre-capitalist level) are drawn into this process. This has dealt a heavy blow to anti-communism and revisionism, thwarting the arguments of all who would depict the October Revolution and the building of socialism in the USSR as a 'quirk of history', a peculiarly national event that could not possibly happen anywhere else. The special significance of these revolutions lies in the fact that in their development, just as Lenin had foreseen, they reproduced the more essential features of the socialist revolution in Russia and transformed it from a force national, in the sense that it was represented by a single country, into a force international, both socially and structurally.

At the same time, it is easy to notice a whole range of specific features by which the revolutions in the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe differ from the October Revolution in Russia with respect to their forms and methods. This is due above all to the difference in their levels of development

and to the specific alignment of class forces in each individual country.

A generalisation of the characteristics and distinctive features of the initial stage of revolutionary changes in the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe shows that the main specific feature of the revolutions performed in them was that they sprang from their peoples' anti-fascist, national liberation struggles. The revolutions started as mass movements for national liberation. The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people merged into a single stream with the struggle of other peoples enslaved by fascism and became a decisive factor in the successful outcome of this struggle.

Seeking to profit by the historical fact that the revolutions in European and Asian countries were closely linked with the Soviet Union's victory in the Second World War, and that the new social system in these countries was able, from the start, to rely on the assistance and support of the first socialist country in the world, the enemies of socialism go out of their way to convince people of the allegedly 'anti-national' character of the revolutions in Central and South-Eastern Europe, which, they say, had nothing to do with the internal conditions or real needs of the peoples of the countries concerned. One can trace a definite continuity between these allegations and the interpretation, widespread in the West at the time, of the Great October Socialist Revolution as an 'accident', a 'quirk of history'. Bourgeois ideologists deny the objective character of the socialist revolutions,

passing over in silence the connection of these revolutions with the vital requirements for social progress of the peoples of the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe, and depicting the revolutionary transformations as a direct result of the action of external forces. They are still trying to persuade the masses of this. They describe the exploiting classes and sections as 'national forces', when in reality these very classes, their parties and leaders betrayed and destroyed national independence.

The revolutions which established the People's Democracies were thoroughly national and patriotic. They solved fundamental national socio-economic problems that could not have been solved under the old system in the people's interest. These revolutions were the product of a determined struggle waged by the working class and all working people of the countries concerned. Assistance and support from the Soviet Union made the road to the new social system and the utilisation of its advantages much easier for the peoples of other countries.

The emergence and development of the world socialist system reveal the international essence of socialism more fully than in the period when state-organised socialism was limited to one country. In quantitative terms, this process is characterised by the expansion of the sphere in which the objective laws of the socialist mode of production operate, as an increasing number of states are involved in the building of the new social system. In qualitative terms, the international essence of socialism is

expressed in closer cooperation between socialist countries—in their economic integration, political consolidation, and the emergence of international features in different areas of social life.

Today, the new social system has been firmly established in a large group of countries in Europe, Asia and Latin America, and has scored world-historic victories. In the USSR, a developed socialist society has been built and the material and technical foundations of communism are being laid. A number of fraternal countries have chalked up great successes in building developed socialism. Stable economic and political ties have formed between most of the socialist states.

The emergence and consolidation of the world socialist system and its turning into a decisive factor in the development of society have substantially altered the political situation on the globe. The historical competition between the two different socio-economic systems that started with the appearance of the first socialist state in the world is now manifesting itself in diverse forms and on a large scale.

The world socialist system is the direct social and economic opposite of the world capitalist system. Realising the advantages of the new social system on a national and international scale, it ensures the progress of the socialist states of which it is comprised, and their closer cooperation in every area of social life.

Owing to the uniform socio-economic nature of the social system in all socialist countries, objective

mutual ties which bind these countries into a definite community spring up between them. These ties reflect the common social aims of the socialist states, their identical class nature, and stem primarily from the international nature of the socialist mode of production, which is founded on public ownership,¹ and the need to ensure favourable international conditions for the building of the new society. Simply by becoming socialist, every country is objectively opposed to world imperialism, taking its place on one side of the line dividing the world into opposite economic and political systems. These vital factors induce socialist states to form close economic and political relations so as to attain the common goals of internal development and tackle common international problems.

These relations extend under the impact of the objective processes of internationalisation of the socialist countries' economic and political life, which they, in their turn, intensify. In the course of all-round cooperation, international economic proportions are established, the economic integration mechanism is evolved and perfected, differences in eco-

¹ That the public ownership of the means of production remains within the borders of the individual countries does not hinder the development of socialist socialisation of production on an international scale and only imparts some specific features to it. Inherent in the development of socialist ownership are remarkable potentialities for the internationalisation of production, which are, as a matter of fact, only just beginning to be realised.

notic levels are reduced, and more common features appear in the socialist countries' way of life and in culture.

A major part in this process is played by the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries. The better the objective laws of social development are known, the more experience the Marxist-Leninist parties amass, and the more consistently the principles of proletarian internationalism are implemented in their policy, the fuller is the use made of the immense opportunities for the socialist states' effective cooperation and consolidation.

The world socialist system—a social, economic, political, and ideological community of free, sovereign, socialist nations—is a new historical international entity such as has never been known before. Simultaneously, it embodies international relations (social, economic, political, etc.) of a new, socialist type.

The closest relations of genuine brotherhood and cooperation have been established among the socialist countries which have voluntarily united in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation. This is one of the chief reasons that the term 'socialist community' has lately come to be applied precisely to this group of countries that have become most closely united economically, politically and ideologically.

The socialist community is the core of the world socialist system. It expands as more and more socialist countries join it. The CMEA has been joined by

the Mongolian People's Republic, the Republic of Cuba, and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The all-round development of the socialist community simultaneously implies the development of the entire world socialist system. The CMEA countries are steadily strengthening their ties with the other countries in the world socialist system. In the past few years, closer relations have been established between the CMEA countries and Yugoslavia. Cooperation of the USSR and the other CMEA countries, on the one hand, with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, on the other, is developing steadily. Multilateral economic relations have been established with the People's Republic of Angola and socialist Ethiopia. The CMEA has also concluded agreements on cooperation with Iraq, Mexico and Finland.

The community of fraternal socialist countries is an international alliance of a new type. The socialist states, united by their common social system and ideology and their commitment to the cause of peace, socialism, democracy and national independence, are developing their all-round cooperation on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and international solidarity, respect for the equality and sovereignty of each state, non-interference in internal affairs, and mutual assistance.

The ideological unity and political cohesion of the fraternal countries have grown stronger. The mechanism of their political cooperation has taken shape and is functioning successfully. Their ideologi-

cal and cultural contacts keep expanding. Today, the community of socialist countries is the most dynamic economic force in the world and the key factor in world politics.

The opportunities for all-round social and economic progress inherent in the new social system can be fully realised under the present conditions only in the case of ever closer and more active international cooperation among the socialist states. This is the cardinal feature of the development of socialism at the current stage.

Thus, the CMEA countries have been enabled by their close cohesion to base the development of their national economies to an ever greater extent on their aggregate economic resources, organise mass production of many kinds of output with due account of their common needs, and streamline their national economic patterns consistently with the requirements of scientific and technological progress. They maintain stable and all-round production, economic, scientific, technological, political, military, ideological and cultural contacts; common economic, cultural and intellectual life is intensively taking shape; exchange of experience in the building of socialism is proceeding on a large scale; full unanimity of views on all major contemporary issues has been established; and a coordinated foreign policy is being carried out.

Highly significant in this respect are the following figures. In the past few years, on the basis of the socialist division of labour, the CMEA countries met, on

reciprocal basis, 62 per cent of their import requirements for machinery and equipment and 65 per cent for consumer goods. In recent years, economic relations between CMEA countries have been especially fruitful not only owing to a great increase in reciprocal trade, but above all, because their cooperation was based on the implementation of the comprehensive integration programme and closer ties between fraternal countries in the sphere of production.

Referring to the relations that have been established among the socialist states voluntarily united in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, Leonid Brezhnev said: 'Now we all have a priceless common possession. It is, indeed, not only that a whole group of socialist states came into being after World War II. There also emerged what we call the socialist community.... We are not speaking of an ordinary alliance of countries, but of a socialist alliance, founded on a common ideology and aims, on the international solidarity of the working people; an alliance led for the first time by the working class and its tested vanguard—the communist and workers' parties.'¹

Thus, the socialist community is an integral part of the world socialist system. The economic and social progress made by the Soviet Union and the oth-

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Leninskim kursom. Rechi i statyi* (Following Lenin's Course), Vol. 5, Politizdat, Moscow, 1976, pp. 112-13.

er socialist community countries directly serves to strengthen the positions of the world socialist system as a whole, inspiring all socialist countries to utilise more fully the advantages offered by their mutual cooperation and to strengthen still further the unity of their ranks. Simultaneously, the term 'community' reflects best of all the general development tendency of the world socialist system as a whole, as the objective laws of the new social system demand that internationalism and fraternal friendship and cooperation among the socialist countries be strengthened in every possible way.

The economic foundation of the world socialist system is the emerging and developing socialist world economy. This is an essentially new phenomenon which arises at a definite stage of development of world socialism after socialist revolutions have been accomplished in several countries. The starting point of the formation, and simultaneously the determining factor in the development of the socialist world economy is socialist socialisation of production.

The qualitative socio-economic aspect of the world economy of a socialist type is determined by the system of socialist relations of production.

As the diametrical opposite of the capitalist world economy, the socialist world economy is an entity comprised of the national economies of all socialist states which form the world socialist system with its reciprocal ties. The national economic complexes are included in the socialist world economy and determine its social structure. Both logically and

historically, the national economic complexes precede the formation of the world economy, and their existence is an indispensable condition for the emergence of the socialist world economic system.

Examining the socialist world economy from the social, class angle, we see what fundamental significance attaches to the truly historic successes scored by the working people of the socialist countries in building socialism and communism and strengthening the economic might of the socialist system. The socialist countries already account for over 40 per cent—and the socialist community countries among them, for about one-third—of world industrial output. In the latter countries, per capita industrial output is over three times that in the capitalist countries.

The communist and workers' parties of the socialist community countries stress the immense significance of the new Soviet Constitution embodying the sixty-year-long experience of the world's first socialist country, for their own countries and for strengthening the forces of world socialism.

Spokesmen of the member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance emphasised the special importance for them of those constitutional provisions which read that the USSR, as part of the world system of socialism and of the socialist community, promotes and strengthens friendship, cooperation, and comradely mutual assistance with other socialist countries on the basis of the principle of socialist internationalism, and takes an active part in

socialist economic integration and the socialist international division of labour.

In the final count this is consistent implementation of the great ideas of the 1917 October Revolution under the present international conditions.

As the world socialist economy develops and grows stronger, the socialist countries' economic ties become ever more tightly interlocked. Interaction between national economic complexes provides for a steadily growing internationalisation of production and of the entire economic life of the socialist states. From this it follows that the major structural element of the world economy consists in the international division of labour. It ties the individual economies into a definite economic system.

The world socialist economy is a factor drawing a growing part of the national productive forces into the international organisation of production, enhancing the interconnection and interdependence of national economic complexes, and creating fresh opportunities for individual countries' internal development and increasing the efficiency of their production.

From this standpoint, socialist economic integration, as a major stage in the socialist internationalisation of production and exchange, is of fundamental significance. The Comprehensive Programme of socialist economic integration reflected and specified the aims of the fraternal countries' concerted general policy to promote economic integration.

The growing cooperation and ever more closely coordinated actions of the CMEA countries notably help consolidate socialism's positions in the world economy, leaving the capitalist countries less freedom to manoeuvre in pursuing discriminatory economic policies against CMEA countries. Applying in a collective, coordinated fashion the results of the policy of international detente, the CMEA countries have been able to expand their mutually advantageous economic relations with many countries of the world.

The socialist community of fraternal countries is an integral system. Its structural elements form an organic unity. That is why putting to use the advantages of socialism as a system of cooperating countries requires the all-round development of contacts between socialist countries in the relatively independent fields of economics, politics, ideology, science and culture, and is implemented in close coordination. The political consolidation of the socialist states, indispensable to the growing might of the world socialist system, historically preceded their economic alliance. This does not conflict with the fact that the economic sphere is the source of fundamental motivating factors responsible for the political cooperation and cohesion of the sovereign socialist states. Simultaneously, the state of political relations exerts a considerable impact on the sphere of economic contacts. Political decisions made at the national and international levels have a palpable effect on the scope, direction and shape of economic relations

between socialist countries, as well as on their long-term development.

The socialist countries' mutual relations in the field of politics, problems subject to joint discussion, the character of decisions made, the interstate mechanism for their implementation—all these are important factors on whose operation the political unity of the countries of the world socialist system depends. In the course of political cooperation, a common line is evolved on an agreed range of home and foreign policy problems, moves are coordinated, and joint long-range plans and programmes are worked out. The intensification of economic and political contacts between socialist countries promotes their ideological unity, stimulating cooperation in the ideological field.

It is safe to say that one of the most typical features of developed socialism is the unity of two processes, first, the socialist countries' closer international cooperation in every area of social life and at every level of its organisation, and, second, greater economic, political and ideological unity of the peoples of socialist countries and the convergence of their economic and social patterns. Each of these processes is simultaneously the prerequisite and consequence of the other, which is a powerful stimulus to their intensification. Decisions framed and adopted on an international basis—at the level of party leaders and heads of state, heads of ministries, departments, enterprises, etc.—play an increasing part in the economic, political and ideological life of each country.

Therefore the definition of the world socialist system as a system of cooperating socialist countries does not fully express its real content at the current stage. The content of the world socialist system and of its natural nucleus, the community of fraternal countries, has been enriched with the progressive and stable results of long and deepening international cooperation, both political and economic, between sovereign socialist countries.

Broadly speaking, this is the formation of the elements of the socialist countries' international economic, political, cultural and intellectual structure and the international features of the socialist mode of life. Included here are the more significant results of socialist economic integration (formation of stable international economic proportions, unification of national planning and management methods, etc.); of the socialist countries' political cohesion (a coordinated foreign policy); of the ideological cohesion (a common stand on all key points of Marxist-Leninist theory); and of the internationalist education of the peoples of the socialist countries (instilling a spirit of collectivism and internationalism in the masses and an awareness of the need for fraternal friendship and mutual support on the part of all the peoples of the socialist countries, and for joint defence of the gains of socialism).

2. *Development of the World Socialist System:*

Laws and Tendencies

One of the central questions in the theory and practice of building the new social system in individual countries and of perfecting the mutual cooperation of the socialist countries is that of the laws and regularities of the formation and development of the world socialist system. It is necessary to investigate this question so as to disclose the more important of the objective interrelationships in the international development of the socialist mode of production, determine the more essential aspects of the mechanism of international cooperation between socialist countries, and single out the historical prospects of the development of world socialism. Study of the laws governing the development of the world socialist community is directly linked with the elaboration of their policy by the communist and workers' parties and the shaping of an effective mechanism for regulating every level of the organisation of social life in the socialist countries, and with the fundamental problems of the strategy and tactics of the international communist and working-class movements. In other words, knowledge of the objective laws of socio-economic development and of how to frame policy in conformity with their requirements is a major condition for utilising the advantages of socialism in the world socialist system as a whole and in its individual countries.

The formation and consolidation of the world socialist system serves to enhance the international

character of the laws of socialism. The laws of socialism began to operate in many countries with varying levels of development, which bears out their truly universal character. Then, new spheres of their operation emerged, above all the sphere of cooperation between socialist countries. The next to arise were the specific laws of each sphere and of the world socialist system as a whole.

The material foundation of this system is the rapidly developing socialist world economy—a new economic structure resulting from the afore-mentioned processes. This economy as a whole and each of its elements represent the immediate sphere of operation of the economic laws of socialism.

An important form of the conscious application of the economic laws of socialism consists in the regulation of socialist economic integration and the elaboration of an international integration mechanism. The solution of these problems in principle through the joint efforts of the fraternal parties is of particular significance to working out a correct theoretical approach, since knowledge of the operation of the economic laws and their optimal application in the international sphere are necessary to harmonise the interests of the equal partners.

Their universal operation is the first symptom of the international character of the laws of the socialist mode of production. It is the objective basis of the identity of interests of the socialist states, of their all-round convergence.

The universal character of the operation of the objective laws of the new social system, borne out by the experience of all socialist countries, proves the unsoundness of conceptions of the 'pluralistic socialism' preached by bourgeois and reformist ideologists. Taking advantage of the differences, which indeed exist, in the methods of building socialism and in the forms of its existence, the differences springing from the concrete conditions prevailing in individual countries, the architects of pluralistic conceptions maintain that there are different kinds of socialism. They allege that each country has its 'national model' of socialism which develops in conformity with its own laws and in contrast to other 'national models'. So, there supposedly is 'socialism with a human face', 'market socialism', 'democratic socialism', and so forth. All these conceptions are directed against Marxism-Leninism, against existing socialism. Their objective is to erode ideological and theoretical basis of world socialism, discredit the practice of building socialism, and distort the international essence of socialism so as to oppose some socialist countries to others and undermine the unity of the world socialist system.

Real life brings out, ever more fully and in various ways, the uniform essence of socialism, whatever the concrete conditions of its building. The international character of the operation of the laws of socialism is revealed with particular force in the socialist community countries. Even within the borders of individual countries the economic laws are beginning to

express not only internal conditions of development but also factors engendered by the growing interaction between countries, economic integration, and intensification of the integral character of the world socialist system. Thus the law of saving time not only expresses the need to reduce expenditures of socially necessary labour proceeding from the conditions of national production but also stipulates a country's participation in the international socialist division of labour; the law of planned development, operating on national soil, also reflects (takes into account) certain interstate balances; the law of value not only expresses expenditures of national labour but also correlates them with the socially necessary expenditures of the entire CMEA region.

The scope and intensity of operation of the main economic law of socialism is determined not only by the opportunities for the growth and improvement of socialist production in each country, but also by a set of factors ensuing from the extent of a country's participation in the international socialist division of labour and in the development of the socialist countries' multilateral cooperation. Lastly, the objective laws of the world socialist system as a community of cooperating countries make themselves felt through their impact on each country's production and economic life at large.

In this situation, national economies cannot be seen as closed spheres of operation of the economic laws of socialism. It becomes important to their

analysis to disclose the international factor in the functioning of these laws at national economic levels. In the socialist community, each national economic complex becomes a component part of a bigger complex—the integrating economy of the CMEA countries—which is, in its turn, a part of the world socialist economic system.

The national and international aspects of the operation of the laws of socialism are increasingly reflected in the policy of the socialist community countries and the activities of their planning and economic bodies. This is manifested in particular in the improvement of economic planning and management systems. Special mention must be made of measures intended to bring into closer relation national economic performance and foreign economic relations, to dovetail their mechanisms. We mean, first of all, the establishment of a direct relation between sales of output on the international CMEA market and the results of enterprises' performance, and inclusion in national economic plans of special provisions on the execution of agreed integration measures. There are also diverse other organisational and economic measures for extending the international specialisation of national economies, stimulating the development of export industries and encouraging the production of higher-quality export items.

International economic cooperation develops, in the final analysis, under the impact of the general sociological law of correspondence between the

relation of production and the character of productive forces. The requirement implicit in the normal development of modern productive forces is that the process of reproduction should emerge beyond national borders. This requirement is met by the formation of international relations of production. Their socio-economic nature is determined by the specific laws to which a social system is subject, in the present instance, by the economic laws of socialism.

The operation of the economic laws which directly determine the development of relations between socialist countries with respect to the production and exchange of output meant for their mutual economic turnover is especially obvious in the international sphere. The first to be noted is the law of saving time and its proportional expenditure by the cooperating countries. In the final analysis, the different forms of socialist countries' economic cooperation are aimed at reducing the expenditure of labour, means and time required for the solution of concrete economic problems, i.e., at gaining time. That is a major incentive, which spurs each country to broaden and deepen its economic ties with other countries.

The methodical inclusion of national economic complexes in the international socialist division of labour and enhancement of their general economic, inter- and intra-sectoral, part manufacturing and technological specialisation are of utmost importance to the rational use of social labour, and economy

of current and capital expenditures. The growing economic effect obtained by fraternal countries from their participation in integration measures attests to the wide range and depth of the operation of this law in the sphere of their mutual economic relations.

As the international socialist relations of production develop and stabilise, the effect of the law of planned proportional development becomes ever more fully manifest. Socialist internationalisation of the productive forces, the growing socialist socialisation of production, and the increasing effect of international elements of the directly social character of labour form the material basis of the development of the planning principle in the world socialist economy. The interrelation between national economic complexes takes the form of a consciously regulated process in which the law of planned, proportional development manifests itself in the necessity and expediency of maintaining optimal proportions of exchange between countries and ensuring purposeful action and application of the other economic laws in the area of international economic relations.

The fact that the operation of this law extends to the sphere of the socialist countries' economic relations proves that the methodically organised connection of all components of reproduction is inherent in socialism on both a national and an international scale. This connection presents itself as a universal form of the motion of economic processes. Its uti-

lisation makes it possible to direct production and the development of social life as a whole so as to achieve targets which meet the interests of individual countries and the socialist community as a whole. Balanced development in the international—as well as the national—sphere makes it possible to maintain consciously the necessary economic proportions. And the proportions that are established are determined by the entire system of the economic laws of socialism, its main law first and foremost. Therefore, the socialist countries' joint planning activities are the main form of conscious utilisation of the entire system of socialist economic laws in their international economic relations.

The international socialist relations of production are not merely vehicles of balanced development. They also express the mutual relations between socialist countries as owners of the products subject to international exchange. Consequently, the international relations of production are a sphere of direct operation of the law of value. The Marxist dicta on the nature of commodity and money under socialism are fully applicable also to economic relations between socialist countries. This does not, however, exclude certain differences in the operation of the law of value in national economies—i.e., within the framework of one economic structure regulated under a single economic plan—and its operation in the mutual relations between the relatively self-contained socialist economies.

The economic processes occurring in all structural

elements of the world socialist economic system (in the socialist countries' national economic complexes and in the sphere of their economic interaction) merge into one general process of the internationalisation of production. This is manifested in practice in the ever stronger interdependence among socialist national economies, and in the creation of the structural-reproductional and organisational prerequisites for them to function as an integral economic whole.

It is safe to say that as far as the development of the world socialist economy is concerned the focus of all the economic laws of socialism is the internationalisation of production. It is the result of the joint action of all the laws of socialism, and simultaneously as the most significant form of their motion and development. The expansion and intensification of the internationalisation of production indicate that the socialist socialisation of production has emerged beyond national borders.

The internationalisation of the socialist economy finds its embodiment above all in the socialist economic integration programme. The forms and methods of cooperation employed in the course of integration are aimed at building within the framework of CMEA an essentially new entity, an integrated socialist world economy. That is exactly why stable international economic proportions of an inter- and intra-sectoral and territorial kind are acquiring increasing importance, an ever greater number of industries in the integrating countries are be-

ginning to be developed in accordance with a coordinated plan, and interstate production amalgamations operating on a profit-and-loss basis and diverse international coordinating bodies are coming to play a more prominent part. In these circumstances, development of the international relations of production becomes ever more essential to the economic progress of individual CMEA countries.

The formation of an international structure of production within CMEA is accompanied by the establishment of an appropriate organisational structure regulating the status of its individual parts. As national and joint planning become interlinked and the national economic management systems draw together, there emerge elements of a single economic planning mechanism regulating the functioning of the integrating CMEA economies. This occurs within the framework of national-state ownership of the means and implements of production. And the same processes are stimulated within the framework of the whole of the community by the increased degree of actual socialisation of production and by the intensification of the social character of labour within national borders.

The socialist community's experience unmistakably suggests that the internationalisation of social life in socialist countries constitutes the most general tendency in the establishment and development of the socialist system on an international scale. Internationalisation is one of the most essential aspects of every sphere of the social life in every socialist

country—economic, political, ideological, and cultural. The tendency towards internationalisation is a determining factor in the development of the productive forces, constituting the essence of the policy of the communist and workers' parties. It represents the most common significant trait in the development of every form of the fraternal countries' cooperation, being responsible for the closer interaction of national economies, coordination of basic foreign policy aspects, and the directions, forms and methods of ideological work.

This tendency results in the socialist countries' all-round drawing together, through the growing uniformity of their socio-political structures as the differences in the quantitative compositions (i.e., the share in the social structure) and qualitative composition of the working class in the socialist community countries are rapidly levelled off and the similarity of their forms and methods of socialist economic management increases. Most of the socialist community countries are now at the same stage of social development, the stage of building a developed socialist society. All this is the result of a long and complex historical process. The process of drawing together gives rise to new, perfect forms of international interaction in all spheres of social life. The most important of them is the all-round sharing of experience and the internationalisation of its best features. The political ties between socialist countries are enhanced and there is closer cooperation between them in the area of ideological work and

in every sphere of cultural and intellectual life. In other words, developed socialism presupposes more perfect forms of internationalisation not only of the economy, but also of the political, ideological, cultural and intellectual spheres, and of the way of life of the peoples of the fraternal countries.

The socialist community countries have evolved a common programme of struggle for strengthening peace and international security and for effective international cooperation. They have undertaken to defend together the gains of socialism from any hostile encroachments and are effectively cooperating in the Warsaw Treaty Organisation.

Extension of the economic and political contacts between socialist states is the key factor in strengthening their ideological cohesion, in inducing them to develop cooperation in the ideological sphere.

Developed socialism is characterised by the greater spiritual and cultural convergence of the socialist community countries. The national culture of each country increasingly absorbs all that is new and valuable in the cultural life of other socialist countries. Through steadily growing international contacts, national intellectual, ideological, theoretical and artistic values, socialist and internationalist in content and character, are increasingly incorporated in the cultural fund of the socialist community as a whole, thereby laying the foundations for the emergence and development of a communist culture of all mankind.

Simultaneously more common features appear in

the way of life of the peoples of socialist countries. As a result of the fraternal countries' drawing together in all areas of social life and the growing intercourse between them, the conditions of material, cultural and intellectual life there become more similar and much the same principles of conduct in the family, work collective and society are followed. The notion 'socialist way of life' becomes more and more an international concept, without implying any standardisation of men's personalities or impeding the growth of national identity.

One major outcome of the internationalisation of production and social life in socialist countries is the rapid evening out of their socio-political and economic development levels. One of the greatest advantages of the new social system is materialised in this process. Socialism not only proclaims the equality of all countries and peoples, but also provides the necessary material conditions for it, proceeding from the identity of the fundamental interests of the socialist countries, all of which have a vital interest in quickly building the material and technical facilities necessary to the growth of living standards and culture. The international aspect of this problem consists in the fact that abolishing the economic lag of individual countries is objectively the common concern of all socialist states and simultaneously their paramount internationalist duty, which impels the more developed socialist countries to render fraternal assistance to the less developed ones.

It must be mentioned at this point that the Soviet Union's assistance to fraternal parties in carrying out socialist industrialisation was an important factor in the evening out process, especially at the initial stage of the formation of the world socialist system.

On an international scale, this process involves the elimination of essential differences in the levels of development of individual countries, of their economic complexes. Essentially, therefore, it is a combination of the two interrelated processes—of perfecting national economic complexes as key elements of the world socialist economy, and streamlining individual national economies relative to one another; this is indispensable to the progress of the world socialist system as a whole and to the realisation of the advantages inherent in it.

The coordinated common course pursued by the communist and workers' parties in the fraternal countries found expression in the adoption in 1971, by the 25th CMEA Session, of a Comprehensive Programme for the further extension and improvement of cooperation and the development of the socialist economic integration of the CMEA member countries. The Programme is a collectively formulated international policy document of the fraternal countries and will be carried out stage by stage over a period of 15 to 20 years.

The Comprehensive Programme envisages measures for assisting the industrial growth of less developed countries by giving them every opportunity of taking part in specialising production and organising

it along cooperative lines, aiding them to ensure high technical standards for specialised output, helping them to design, build and commission projects bringing them to the stage of large-scale production, granting them international loans on easy terms, and so on.

The Comprehensive Programme gives special prominence to the problems involved in providing for the accelerated growth and greater efficiency of the economy of the Mongolian People's Republic. The CMEA countries decided to work out special measures towards these ends, taking into account Mongolia's natural and economic conditions. These measures include joint construction and exploitation of industrial and other projects by the countries concerned through contributions of financial, material and technical means and manpower, and assistance in bringing them to mastering planned capacities, and so on.

Today in Mongolia several major industrial enterprises are under construction, prospecting for minerals is conducted on a large scale, and effective measures are being carried out in agriculture. Successful economic development has turned Mongolia from a backward stock-breeding country into a rapidly developing agro-industrial one.

Signal successes in economic development have been chalked up by Cuba, which actively cooperated with the Soviet Union and other CMEA countries even before it became a member of the organisation itself. The fraternal countries' assistance to Cuba's

economic development is growing. Through the joint effort of the CMEA countries, Cuba's nickel facilities are being notably enlarged and a number of other major economic projects are under way.

It is estimated that between 1950 and 1976 in the CMEA countries the difference (between maximum and minimum figures) in per capita production diminished from 3.2 to 1.3 times for national income, from 5 to 1.7 times for industrial output, and 2 to 1.7 times for agricultural output.

The results of the economic levelling off of the CMEA countries can be seen in the updating of the economic patterns of once less developed countries, improved technical equipment of their economies and the rapid growth of the people's living standards. Between 1950 and 1976 the share contributed to national income by industry and construction increased from 43.4 to 58.9 per cent in Bulgaria, from 49.6 to 64.6 per cent in Romania, from 11.1 to 30.8 per cent in Mongolia, and from 45 to 63.8 per cent in Poland. All European CMEA countries are developing high technology industries. Much progress has been made, too, in bringing the fraternal countries' scientific and technological development to a more uniform level.

All European CMEA countries have also drawn much closer together in the production of major industrial goods. Thus, whereas in 1950 the ratio between the maximum and minimum per capita electric power generation was about 10:1, in 1975-76 the gap was narrowed to 2.5:1. Similarly, the diffe-

rence between the maximum and minimum figures was reduced over the same period from 360:1 to 2.7:1 in steel production, from 51:1 to 8:1 in chemical fibres, from 18:1 to 4:1 in mineral fertilisers, from 2.8:1 to 1.9:1 in cement, and from 3.1:1 to 1.4:1 in cotton fabrics.

As their economic, scientific and technological potential grew stronger, the CMEA countries were able to take part in the international division of labour on a more equal footing. This is seen in the emergence of a clear industrial pattern in their exports. Thus, the proportion of finished industrial goods (machines, equipment and transportation facilities, consumer goods, chemicals, fertiliser, building materials, etc.) in Bulgaria's exports increased from 3.7 per cent in 1950 to 57.6 per cent in 1976, and over the same period increased from 45.9 to 59.9 per cent for Hungary, from 0.9 to 11 per cent for Mongolia, from about 20 to 61.7 per cent for Poland, from 11.6 to 53.5 per cent for Romania, and from 57.7 to 74.6 per cent for Czechoslovakia. Per capita volumes of export increased many times over.

It does not in the least follow from the objective law of evening out of the development levels of individual countries that all socialist countries must develop at exactly the same rate. On the contrary, it is just because the less developed socialist countries advance at a relatively faster rate that they attain the level of those better developed, and the whole of the fraternal community makes fresh gains. In the socialist world, the evening out of individual

countries' development levels is a major means of harmonising their national-state interests, in contrast to the capitalist world, where this process only tends to aggravate inter-imperialist contradictions.

At present the communist and workers' parties are concentrating their attention on employing the major advances achieved after the first few years of carrying out the Comprehensive Programme in the economic drawing together of the fraternal countries, and making good use of the resultant opportunities for developing mutual cooperation so as to extend further the international socialist division of labour and intensify socialist economic integration. It is on this basis that the work on coordinating the CMEA countries' national economic plans is conducted and the prospects for their long-term socio-economic development are determined.

3. The Socialist Community as a New Type of International Relations Among the Socialist Countries

The all-round progress of the world socialist community is linked with the development of the principles of proletarian socialist internationalism. The establishment and consolidation of developed socialism is seen by the communist and workers' parties as their common, internationalist task, dealt with in each country with regard for concrete conditions. In the process, the content and forms of fraternal coun-

tries' mutual cooperation are enriched and their joint efforts in tackling the fundamental problems involved in the building of socialism and communism come to play a greater role.

'Proletarian internationalism is the most important principle—a principle which life itself has confirmed—by which Communists are guided in carrying out their activity,' states the CC CPSU resolution *On the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution*. 'It is of central importance to the entire theory and practice of scientific communism. It is under the banner of internationalism that the October Revolution triumphed and the first socialist state consolidated its positions, that the world socialist system has emerged, and the socialist community is developing and gaining in strength, and the international communist and working-class movement is growing and becoming increasingly united. The CPSU has always been guided by the vital international interests of socialism, of the entire revolutionary movement.'¹

With the emergence of socialism beyond the borders of one country and the formation of the world socialist system, proletarian internationalism becomes the foundation of the extensive social practice of socialist states and a cardinal factor in their economic and cultural life. It is the unshakable foundation of the international relations of the socialist

¹ *On the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution*, p. 21.

type that have been established among the fraternal countries.

In the new historical conditions proletarian internationalism has come to determine not only the tasks and purposes of the international working-class struggle against capitalist exploitation, aggressive imperialist policy and national enslavement; it now also comprises the tasks and purposes of the countries of the world socialist system in building socialism and communism, developing and strengthening interstate socialist relations, and consolidating the international positions of the world socialist system.

In the scholarly literature of the socialist community countries the opinion has become firmly established that proletarian internationalism, realised in the system of the socialist countries' interparty and interstate relations, is being further developed and extended, as with the consolidation of working-class power in these countries, the strengthening of *actually* existing socialism becomes the principal aim of proletarian internationalism, and the ruling communist parties become its main subjects. The term 'socialist internationalism' is used to designate these new properties acquired by proletarian internationalism in the context of the world socialist system.

The economic and socio-political basis of socialist internationalism is social ownership of the implements and means of production, which holds undivided sway in socialist national economies, and a new class structure, whose determining feature is

the leading role of the working class in close alliance with the peasants. This profoundly alters the objective basis of international working-class solidarity, creating economic and political prerequisites for uniting the working class and all working people into a fraternal community of equals for the purpose of building a new social system.

Socialist internationalism has become the leading home and foreign policy principle of the countries of the world socialist system. Guided by Lenin's precepts on the methods and forms whereby socialist countries can influence world development, the communist and workers' parties of the fraternal countries build their policy on a class basis, with due account of the historical prospects for the development of the world revolutionary process.

One cardinal feature of socialist internationalism is the constant concern shown by each ruling communist party for building up the positions of the entire world socialist system, for promoting friendship and cooperation with all the other socialist nations, and for enhancing the unity and cohesion of all socialist countries.

Socialist internationalism implies, in particular, disinterested aid to less developed countries by more economically advanced ones, and the readiness of each country to contribute to the consolidation of the world socialist system. 'Every Communist Party, which has become the ruling party in the state, bears historical responsibility for the destinies of both its country and the entire socialist camp,' states the

Declaration of the 1960 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.¹

Explaining the meaning of socialist internationalism at the current stage, the fraternal countries defined as its cardinal feature the internationalist duty of jointly defending the gains of socialism and repulsing the attacks of international counter-revolution. 'The defence of socialism is an internationalist duty of Communists,' state the documents of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.²

Since socialist internationalism is characteristic of relations between sovereign socialist countries, it implies consistent observance by them of the principles of equality, mutual benefit, respect for territorial integrity and independence of states, and non-intervention in their internal affairs. These general democratic principles acquire a new character in relations between socialist countries, being applied in an organic unity with purely socialist principles. Just as the struggle for democracy, when carried through, inevitably develops into a struggle for socialism, so the full implementation of the principles of democracy by the socialist countries affords grounds for regarding these principles as part of the total

¹ *The Struggle for Peace, Democracy and Socialism*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1963, p. 51.

² *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow 1969*, Peace and Socialism Publishers, Prague, 1969, p. 23.

combination of the principles of socialist internationalism.

In relations between socialist countries the general democratic principles of international relations are, for the first time, filled with real content, corresponding to their inner essence, instead of being a mere formula concealing the partners' actual inequality, as is the case in relations between capitalist countries. In addition, it must be stressed that unswerving observance of general democratic principles by socialist countries in their relations with non-socialist countries, and above all in their relations with developing countries, is a major factor in making the whole system of international relations more democratic.

Socialist internationalism is organically linked with the unremitting struggle waged by the socialist community countries for peace and international security. The notions 'socialism' and 'peace' are inseparable from the socialist countries' struggle for strengthening peace and for translating the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence into practice. This struggle is the international cause of Communists in all countries; it constitutes the main line of the working-class struggle for bringing about the international conditions most favourable to the success of socialism. Socialist internationalism, which makes the socialist community stronger, thereby fortifies the main material and spiritual bulwark of world peace.

Thus, experience shows that the internal require-

ments of the socialist states as well as the conditions of their struggle against the countries belonging to the opposite social system objectively call for the association of the countries of victorious socialism in a unified front, in a close-knit socialist community. The cohesion and close unity of the fraternal countries are the strongest guarantee of their national independence and sovereignty. That is why the genuine internationalism of the policy pursued by the socialist states manifests itself above all in their efforts to strengthen the unity of their ranks and achieve ever greater political consolidation and economic rapprochement. The more solid the ranks of the socialist states, the more successfully they can deal with their internal problems and build up their international positions; any tendencies towards isolation greatly harm both the country evincing such tendencies and the whole of the socialist community.

The new type of international relations and the principles of socialist internationalism underlying these relations are a world-historic achievement of world socialism. Socialist internationalism is the main and determining means whereby the advantages of socialism are realised in the context of the whole of the world socialist system. The experience and achievements of each socialist country come to be shared by all the other countries, while each separate country, in its turn, is able to apply the other countries' achievements on its native soil and to draw on their fraternal assistance.

Describing the relations that have become estab-

lished between socialist community countries, Leonid Brezhnev points out that 'these relations now encompass virtually all aspects of life. But although their scope is an important factor, this is not the only one. The very nature of these relations is such that not only parties, not only state bodies, but also the working people are taking a direct part in developing them. Millions upon millions of people are becoming increasingly aware that their destinies are linked together and are coming to feel an ever greater mutual sympathy and respect. This is what makes the big family of socialist countries close-knit and strong.'¹

Socialist internationalism, which is the main avenue for realising the decisive advantages of socialism as a world economic and political system, is being attacked by all adversaries of the new social system. The imperialist ideologists and politicians are trying hard to disunite the socialist countries, to tear them away from the Soviet Union, to separate them from one another, and leave them to face world imperialism alone. This is essentially the aim of the contemporary anti-socialist doctrines of 'building bridges', exercising a 'differentiated approach', and so forth. Sapping proletarian internationalism becomes paramount in the eyes of the world bourgeoisie to preserving its class domination. Internationalism is assailed by anti-communists of every stripe and hue, who

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Our Course: Peace and Socialism*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, p. 82.

seek to disunite and weaken the revolutionary and democratic forces of today. Revisionists of the right and 'left' hue have hastened to join the common stream of struggle against proletarian, socialist internationalism, seeking to sap from within the unity and cohesion of the international working class and its communist vanguard.

Distorted interpretation of the essence of proletarian internationalism is one of the main lines of the struggle against it in present-day conditions. Internationalism is emasculated of its class nature and reduced merely to the postulation of equal rights. The allegation that the genuine equality of parties is incompatible with their international solidarity has become part of the stock in trade of the anti-communists, while this solidarity itself is depicted as the communist parties' submission to the dictates of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Another direction of the onslaught on proletarian internationalism is exclusive concentration on the local conditions in which different communist parties have to fight for democracy and socialism, to the detriment of the general principles of their anti-imperialist struggle. Thus, the purely national tasks of certain contingents of the international working class were raised to an absolute and opposed to its international tasks. This was the source of the conception of various 'national' models of socialism. Pluralism, which was allegedly to supplant proletarian internationalism, was proclaimed to be the leading principle of the international communist move-

ment. Attacks on internationalism were particularly fierce during the preparations for the Berlin Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe. The bourgeois press prophesied that the meeting would come to nothing because the 'Communists will fail to reach an agreement'.

Under these circumstances, the convocation and successful holding of the conference of 29 European communist and workers' parties dashed the reactionaries' hopes that the Communists of Europe would fall out, that their activities would be confined to purely national interests. The Conference helped the communist parties of different countries to work out common positions on a number of major issues, which were reflected in the jointly prepared documents adopted by the Berlin Conference. The final document of the Conference pointed out that the communist parties would develop their international, comradely, voluntary cooperation strictly observing the equal rights and sovereign independence of each party.

In analysing the problem of the realisation of the advantages of socialism on an international scale, it is very important to take into consideration the fact that the socialist community was formed by a voluntary union of sovereign states with different levels of economic and political development. Each socialist state is an independent, sovereign country, but at the same time, by virtue of the socio-economic nature of the new system, all socialist countries pursue the same goal in their social develop-

ment and have the same vital interests, which promotes their unity, close alliance, and coordinated action. Therefore, the main condition for implementing the principles of socialist internationalism is the harmonisation of the national and international interests of the socialist countries, their drive for unity, comradely cooperation and elaboration of a common stand and mode of action on key political issues on the basis of the parties' equality and voluntary cooperation.

The harmonious combination of the national and international interests of the socialist countries, embodied in the practical activities of their communist parties, shows that in the world socialist system there is no antagonism between each country's natural desire to enhance its national sovereignty and national identity, and the continually developing cooperation and economic and political drawing together of the socialist countries. Furthermore, life shows that closer international cooperation with other socialist countries is just what is needed for strengthening the statehood of every socialist country. This cooperation is a major source of their economic growth and consolidated international positions.

The economic growth of all socialist community countries without exception, their greatly increased international prestige and outstanding contribution to the solution of urgent international issues, all are real evidence of the fact that the stronger internal and international positions of each socialist country, on the one hand, and the all-round development of

the fraternal countries' cooperation, on the other, represent a single process, growing might and cohesion of the socialist countries community.

For all that, it would be wrong, to say the least, to assert that the problem of harmonising the national and international aspects of the socialist countries' development is resolved automatically. Practice shows that this is a complicated and responsible task requiring each party to have a great measure of class awareness and a highly developed sense of internationalist duty. Otherwise it is easy to slip into nationalism or into a utilitarian attitude to politics.

Lenin defined for the international communist movement the key criterion for harmonising specific national features with general international principles of building socialism. The unity of the communist and working-class movement, he noted, 'demands not the elimination of variety or the suppression of national distinctions (which is a pipe dream at present), but an application of the *fundamental* principles of communism ... which will *correctly* modify these principles in certain *particulars*, *correctly* adapt and apply them to national and national-state distinctions.'¹

This precept of Lenin's guides the communist and workers' parties when they elaborate their policy for strengthening the positions of socialism in each country, enhancing the unity and cohesion of the

¹ V. I. Lenin, ' "Left-Wing" Communism—an Infantile Disorder', *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 92.

entire socialist community and developing effective all-round cooperation between socialist countries. The pivot of this policy is the dialectical unity of the common aims and tasks of all socialist countries and the specific, particular problems determined by the concrete conditions of each country's development, by its economic, scientific and technological potential, geographic location, and so on.

The socialist countries and their working class are staunch fighters for the implementation of the principles of proletarian internationalism, in which the interests and requirements of the revolutionary struggle of the international working class find conscious reflection. Nevertheless, the working class of the socialist countries is a class wielding power, a class building and perfecting actually existing socialism on a national and international scale. The range of its international interests as a ruling class is expanding and growing more complex. Along with interests determined by the requirements of the international working-class struggle for social emancipation, the working class has interests related to the consolidation of socialism that has already been built within the borders of individual countries and the world socialist system.

The source of the intrinsic, truly international identity of interests of the socialist states lies in the uniform socio-economic and political nature of their social system, which is the reason why they belong to the world socialist system, have common allies and foes in the world arena, and common tasks

which objectively face individual countries and the socialist system as a whole. That is why their common international interests express the more essential aspects, conditions and factors in the development of each socialist country and of the world socialist system as a definite economic and political entity of socialist states.

As the socialist countries draw together economically and become politically consolidated, as their entire social life becomes internationalised, their national-state interests grow more closely interrelated. Characteristic of each integrating country is an absolute and relative growth in the share of its industrial and agricultural output (and consequently, of national income) which goes for satisfying the needs of the fraternal countries. Accordingly, products received from other CMEA countries come to account for a growing share of domestic productive and personal consumption and the socialist countries' economic interrelation is inevitably intensified.

The growing interrelation of the individual countries' national-state interests manifested itself particularly clearly in the CMEA countries' decision to draw up a coordinated five-year plan of integration measures and introduce a special section in each country's five-year plan providing for these measures to be included in the national economic development programmes. In this way, from the very start each country sets aside the financial, material and manpower resources necessary for carrying out the agreed integration measures.

The common international interest in developing cooperation is, however, seen through the prism of the individual countries' specific interests and there may be a certain discrepancy between particular interests within the framework of the general integration process. The focal point of this discrepancy are factors which make it objectively more difficult to bring a country's expenditures on integration measures into exact balance with the economic effect it gets from them during each specific interval of time. Apart from this, countries with different economic development levels have a varying degree of interest in carrying out some integration project or other. What happens is that national-state interests fail to coincide in time, as it were. What has been of vital interest to the more economically advanced countries in the more or less distant past, is so to the less developed countries at the present moment.

In practice, in order to ensure common success, fraternal countries sometimes have to slow up or limit the scale of a domestic project, especially when a joint project requires that a part of the national resources be set aside for it. This happens, for example, when economic or military assistance must be given to other countries.

Yet these contradictions between particular interests are comparatively easy to overcome, existing as they do within the framework of a more important interest shared by all. Realising the need for developing reciprocal cooperation, the fraternal countries find mutually acceptable decisions on particular

problems. The policy of the socialist community countries, aimed at eliminating the differences in their economic development levels, effectively furthers the convergence of their national-state interests.

Harmonisation of national-state interests is a major sphere of the activity of the communist and workers' parties in the socialist countries. It is effected through numerous channels and at different levels of party, state and economic management. Very important in this respect are bilateral and multilateral contacts between party and government leaders who discuss a wide range of problems of mutual interest, evolve uniform standpoints, and determine common positions. We must especially stress the participation of the fraternal countries' leaders in party congresses and international meetings of communist and workers' parties. Harmonisation of interests is based on the norms and principles of mutual cooperation, worked out jointly by the fraternal countries and formalised in such basic documents as international treaties of friendship and cooperation, the basic principles of the international socialist division of labour, the CMEA Charter, the Charter of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, and the Comprehensive Programme for the Further Extension and Improvement of Cooperation and the Development of Socialist Economic Integration by the CMEA Member Countries.

The harmonisation mechanism includes mutual exchanges of delegations of party and government officials and systematic meetings of economic man-

agers, experts, scientists and cultural figures at which they tackle concrete problems of cooperation in different areas of social life. 'We have learned to cope successfully with our day-to-day tasks and patiently work out fair solutions to problems that cannot be resolved in capitalist conditions,' Leonid Brezhnev said. 'And in doing this, we have learned to harmonise the interests of each with the interests of all and to cooperate, sweeping aside everything that may hinder or complicate our joint progress.'¹

The activities of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and representatives of the fraternal socialist countries in the United Nations and other international and regional bodies, in which they act in concert on the basis of a jointly elaborated platform are an important part of the mechanism of harmonising national-state interests.

Over the past few years, notable progress has been made in ideological cooperation between communist and workers' parties. This is quite natural because at the current stage of building socialism in fraternal countries and building communism in the USSR, increasing significance attaches to the communist education of the masses and to efforts to raise the level of social consciousness. Apart from this, in view of the current intensification of the ideological struggle between the old and the new worlds, it is necessary to step up the advance of Marxism-Leninism and

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, pp. 80-81.

proletarian internationalism and rebuff bourgeois and revisionist ideology. The work conducted by the communist and workers' parties to educate the masses in the internationalist spirit; propagation of the successes achieved by the peoples of the fraternal countries in building socialism and communism and developing mutual fraternal cooperation; explanation to the masses of the role and significance of the world socialist system as the greatest gain of the international working class—all this plays a substantial part in harmonising national-state interests.

4. Socialist Economic Integration as a General Tendency of the Socialist Community's Development

As most of the CMEA countries entered the period of building developed socialism, mature socialism was built in the USSR, and it became the order of the day to boost the efficiency of socialist production so as to accelerate the growth of the people's living standards, much higher demands came to be made by the CMEA countries on their reciprocal economic cooperation. The communist and workers' parties have set the task of making fuller use of the advantages offered by the international socialist division of labour so as to achieve an upsurge of productive forces in each socialist country and consolidate the positions of world socialism at large. The Comprehensive Programme is being successfully translated into practice.

In elaborating the conception of socialist economic

integration, Marxist scholars have debunked the bourgeois and revisionist concepts of integration, which gloss over its class nature and reduce integration merely to closer interdependence of national economic complexes. Marxists proceed from the premise that the character of the social system determines not only the purposes and economic and social effects of integration and its historical limits, but also the organisational forms of the integration process.

Capitalist integration is a process of drawing together of national economies based on capitalist ownership. Its subjects are the capitalist monopolies and capitalist states. Capitalist integration, therefore, serves the interests of monopoly capital. The economic effect of capitalist integration is evaluated above all from the standpoint of providing better conditions for monopolies' operations, increased monopoly profit and intensified exploitation of labour. Capitalist integration may be seen as a certain international kind of state-monopoly capitalism and simultaneously as a means in the struggle waged by the monopolies and state-capitalist associations for the recarving of markets and spheres of influence. Integration has, to a certain extent, given the ruling class in developed capitalist countries more scope for manoeuvring, affording some opportunities for the growth of productive forces and application of the advances of science and technology. Nevertheless, practice has shown conclusively that capitalist integration does nothing to remove capitalism's inherent antagonisms.

It is significant that capitalist integration has plainly revealed two antagonistic development trends. One is towards integration at state level, where the parties agree to share a common market. The other is towards the formation of multinational corporations. The latter largely aim to wreck the measures pursued by the Common Market countries. One instance of this is the Eurodollar, which is not controlled by the West European states. The antagonism between the two trends in capitalist integration increases as the multinationals wax stronger.

The consequences of capitalist integration are well known: big blocs and large-scale industry grow stronger while small and medium-sized concerns go out of business; different areas of the integrating region become unevenly developed; workers are subjected to mass dismissals and hundreds of thousands of farmers go bankrupt; the people's political and social rights are violated. The historical trends of capitalist integration corroborate Lenin's analysis of the capitalist internationalisation of production, which showed that it was riddled with contradictions and had no prospects. Lenin wrote that 'inevitably imperialism will burst and capitalism will be transformed into its opposite long before one world trust materialises, before the "ultra-imperialist", world-wide amalgamation of national finance capitals takes place'.¹

¹ V. I. Lenin, 'Preface to N. Bukharin's Pamphlet, *Imperialism and the World Economy*', *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 107.

The first half of the 1970s was marked by a series of events which forcefully demonstrated the economic and political instability of modern capitalism. State-monopoly capitalism proved utterly unable to stop galloping inflation. Prices have soared to a level at which the very foundations of the capitalist economy are undermined, the living standards of millions of working people have dropped abruptly, and the struggle of the working class, the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie, students and intellectuals for their economic and political rights has assumed unprecedented dimensions. The growing instability of modern capitalism and the further aggravation of interimperialist conflicts were manifested in the worst economic crisis ever to beset the capitalist world, protracted and profound monetary and energy crises. In the light of these facts, it becomes clear that integration processes in the world capitalist economy cannot rid capitalism of its incurable vices, modify its exploitative nature or retard mankind's progress towards the final triumph of socialism.

A fundamentally different historical tendency is present in socialist economic integration. The integration process is consciously regulated by the countries concerned on the basis of profound knowledge of the economic laws of socialism and their ever more purposeful and comprehensive application.

Socialist economic integration is carried out by making use of the advantages stemming from social ownership of the means of production and planned economy.

That is why socialist economic integration, by its very nature, methods and historical aims, is immensely superior to capitalist integration and is the highest social type of integration, which eventually will result in that 'single world co-operative'¹ whose establishment was considered by Lenin to be the most important law of the development of world socialism.

Integration is decisive to bringing into play the more essential advantages of socialism as a world economic and political system. It yields the greatest economy of working time for the entire region of integrating countries, and is in line with the historical course of development of the whole socialist system. Integration is based on the dialectical unity of two principles, the objective and the subjective. It rests on the objective tendencies and laws of the development of the socialist mode of production, and at the same time it is systematically regulated and consciously directed.

The Comprehensive Programme notes that 'the extension and improvement of economic, scientific and technological cooperation and the development of socialist economic integration by the CMEA member-countries is a process that is consciously and systematically regulated by the Communist and Workers' Parties and the Governments of the CMEA member-countries. It is a process of the international

¹ V. I. Lenin, 'Speech to the Third Workers' Co-operative Congress', *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 333.

socialist division of labour, the drawing closer of their economies and the formation of modern, highly effective national economic structures, of a gradual drawing closer and evening out of their economic development levels, a formation of deep and enduring ties in the basic branches of the economy, science and technology, an expansion and consolidation of the international market of these countries, and an improvement of commodity-money relations.¹

The Comprehensive Programme reflected and made tangible the fundamental principles of the socialist countries' integration policy. The CMEA countries clearly defined the purposes of socialist economic integration. It is aimed at ensuring a more rapid development of productive forces in all CMEA countries, attaining the highest possible level in science and technology, raising the economic efficiency of social production and achieving a maximum growth in social labour productivity. Successful integration is a model of development in the course of which the opportunities provided by the scientific and technological revolution are organically combined with the advantages of socialism as a world economic system.

¹ *Comprehensive Programme for the Further Extension and Improvement of Co-operation and the Development of Socialist Economic Integration by the CMEA Member-Countries*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1971, pp. 14-15.

The Comprehensive Programme can justly be described as a strategic plan for developing long-term economic cooperation between socialist countries. It proceeds from the need to intensify the process of internationally pooling material and financial resources for the purpose of solving the fundamental national economic problems of the socialist countries.

Socialist integration implies respect for the participating countries' national sovereignty and independence, non-intervention in their internal affairs, the full equality and mutual advantage of the partners. As is stated by the Comprehensive Programme, it takes place on a voluntary basis and involves no establishment of supra-national bodies.

The characteristics of socialist economic integration include the growing role of coordinated economic policy to ensure efficient regulation of integration processes, and comprehensive development of diverse forms of joint planning. The measures effected by the CMEA countries for the balanced development of integration vividly reflect the leading and guiding role of their communist and workers' parties.

Plan-based development is a universal method by which all integration measures are effected and which pervades every area and form of the fraternal countries' reciprocal cooperation. It has become established practice—which is constantly being improved—to coordinate five-year and long-term economic development plans; expansion of production is planned jointly; consultations are held on key prob-

lems of economic policy; economic, scientific and technological forecasting is carried on jointly; and experience is shared on how to improve national planning and economic management systems.

Since the Comprehensive Programme was adopted, the CMEA countries have made notable progress in carrying out its targets and providing conditions for tackling major national economic problems. Socialist integration enables the fraternal countries to co-ordinate the main lines of their long-range structural policy and pool their efforts to deal jointly with urgent socio-economic problems, many of which simply could not be tackled single-handed.

One major current problem is that of fuel and raw materials. Its solution is essential to keeping industry and the population well supplied with natural resources, the requirements for which are increasing. It is well known that under capitalism the solution is attended with great difficulties and crises. In the world socialist economy, on the other hand, this problem is dealt with on a fundamentally different basis. Uninterrupted supply of fuel and raw materials to industry is one of the major achievements in the socialist countries, resulting from the collective approach to tackling national economic problems.

Thanks to their coordinated policy in developing their fuel-producing and extracting industries, the CMEA countries are able to meet their principal needs in a planned fashion for long periods ahead. The powerful fuel-and-energy complex they have built allows them to supply their needs entirely

with what is produced within the borders of the region.

A big contribution to this has been made by the Soviet Union. Between 1971 and 1975, exports of fuel (in coal equivalent) from the USSR to the other CMEA countries amounted to 562 million tons or 76 per cent more than in the preceding five years.

The CMEA countries deal with the fuel and raw materials problem mainly by pooling material and financial resources for joint development of mineral deposits, most of which are in the USSR. This enables them jointly to build projects which are highly capital-intensive, take a long time to complete, and lie far away from their Soviet Union's western borders.

Closely connected with the fuel and raw materials problem is the CMEA countries' energy problem. It is tackled according to plan through their joint efforts on the basis of concerted long-term energy policy. The main methods used are building up the power industry and carrying out measures to ensure closer interlocking between national power grids.

The 30th CMEA Session discussed the plan for the long-range development of national unified electric power systems operated by the CMEA countries, including cooperation with Yugoslavia's electric power system, and approved the measures proposed.¹ It is a major international project, which, when im-

¹ See: *Ekonomicheskoye sotrudnichestvo stran chlenov SEV*, No. 4, 1976, p. 51.

plemented, will result in lower construction costs of power plants and transmission lines and cheaper power generation and supply.

Atomic power engineering is gaining prominence in providing the CMEA countries with energy resources. Agreements and protocols have been signed under which the Soviet Union will give technical assistance in building atomic power stations in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, and Romania. Some of these stations have already been commissioned.

Since they have an advanced engineering industry, which is developing at a faster rate than other industries in the CMEA countries and the machine-building industry in the West, the CMEA countries have all the prerequisites to jointly decide on how to supply their own requirements for machinery and plant and extend cooperation in using the latest results of science and technology, developing and introducing up-to-date machinery and processes, increasing mechanisation and automation in the engineering industry, and building projects and additional facilities requiring big capital outlays by the countries concerned. The CMEA countries and Yugoslavia have signed several dozen multilateral agreements on specialisation and cooperation in production. These agreements are concerned with the manufacture of cars, ships, tractors and farm machines, chemical plant, construction and road-building machines, efficient digital programmed-control machine tools, electronic computers, glass-blowing machines,

certain chemicals and other products as well. Besides multilateral agreements, the USSR has concluded many bilateral agreements on specialisation and cooperation of production with CMEA countries and Yugoslavia in the fields of machine-building, heavy engineering, equipment for the light and food industries, etc.

As the multilateral agreements were carried out, it became clear that the greatest economic effect was obtained from concentrating the production of specialised goods. It is proposed to have about 75 per cent of all engineering items manufactured in just two countries, with some 50 per cent made in one country. The process of forming internationally specialised industries, subindustries, types of production and of typification and unification of articles, units and parts is under way in the CMEA countries. One can name the production of battery- and motor-driven trucks in Bulgaria; buses and large-scale production of motorcar units and parts in Hungary; shipbuilding, chemical engineering, textile engineering, production of forging-and-pressing equipment, and passenger-car building in the GDR; shipbuilding, production of construction and road-building machines in Poland; chemical engineering and heavy truck building in the USSR and Czechoslovakia; oil-extracting equipment and locomotives in Romania, etc. At present the USSR accounts for about 95 per cent of the CMEA countries' output of mechanical shovels, and Hungary and the Soviet Union, for about 80 per cent of buses. Bulgaria supplies to the

other CMEA countries about 99 per cent of its output of battery-driven trucks; Poland, over 70 per cent of its shipbuilding output; the GDR, more than 75 per cent of its output of passenger cars.

As a result of coordination of plans for 1976-80, notable progress was made in expanding production specialisation and cooperation in machine-building, above all in the automobile, machine-tool and tractor industries and in the production of machines for the light and food industries. This will help raise the level of specialisation in the production of certain kinds of machinery and equipment, bring the volume of their production to an optimum, and reduce small-batch production, thereby increasing the economic effect of coordinated specialisation and cooperation measures.

Over a number of years, the CMEA countries have developed facilities for the production of consumer goods, foodstuffs especially, taking into account national traditional specialisation, the available skilled labour and local raw materials. This has increased the opportunities for reciprocal exchanges, including contract items.

Thus, while in 1961-65 the Soviet Union imported consumer goods worth 3,500 million transferable roubles, in 1971-75 the figure rose to about 9,000 million roubles. In the current five-year period, cooperation between the CMEA countries in this area will be extended a great deal.

In the coming years, cooperation between the CMEA countries in the field of agriculture and food-

stuffs production will be greatly intensified. The fraternal countries' joint efforts ensure accelerated introduction of industrial methods in agriculture and thorough updating of equipment at food industry enterprises. Besides the food programme, the socialist community countries are faced with the task of satisfying scientifically determined standards of consumption of clothing and shoes, of the principal kinds of household appliances and of everyday services. Particular attention will be paid to radically improving the quality and increasing the variety of all goods and ensuring their uninterrupted supply. Ensuring a larger output and an ever greater variety of consumer goods implies maximum use of all development reserves in group B (consumer goods) of social production.

The coordination of the national economic plans for 1976-80, which was more inclusive and many-sided than in the past, reflected the requirement of the Comprehensive Programme for a long-range comprehensive approach to dealing with key economic problems through the joint efforts of the fraternal countries. As a result of coordination, reciprocal deliveries by CMEA countries in 1976-80 exceeded 300,000 million roubles, increasing more than 50 per cent over the preceding five-year period. The principal result of plan coordination is that it has made it possible to solve the vital problems of supplying the countries' economies with fuel and raw materials, facilitated the further development of modern branches of machine-building, the light and food industries and agriculture, and, in the final ana-

lysis, helped to create conditions for a new and considerable growth of the economy and of the living standards in all the fraternal countries.

The experience accumulated by the CMEA countries in organising multilateral cooperation in major spheres of the economy paved the way for working out a collective plan of integration measures. The approval by the 29th CMEA Session, held in June 1975, of a coordinated plan of multilateral integration measures to be effected in the socialist community countries in 1976-80 was of fundamental significance to the further consolidation of planning principles in the activities of the CMEA. Nine socialist countries which account for one-third of world industrial output coordinated, consolidated into a single five-year plan their major joint integration measures and aggregate capital investments estimated at about 9,000 million transferable roubles. Head of the Soviet delegation, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR Alexei Kosygin, noted in his speech at the closing of the Session that framing such a plan was a 'novel event in our cooperation, the beginning of great and exceedingly important work in uniting our efforts and resources to deal with such basic problems as the development of power production, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy and machine-building, and the provision of foodstuffs and other agricultural products to all community countries'.

The agreed integration plan includes measures for expanding capacity in the fuel-producing and raw

materials industries at the expense of the countries concerned. One of these projects is a pulp factory near Ust Il'msk which will produce 500,000 tons of pulp a year. The Soviet Union will contribute more than half of the capital investments in this project. The other CMEA countries will invest an aggregate of 327.9 million transferable rubles. The parties will receive 205,000 tons of pulp annually from Ust Il'msk, each in proportion to the share contributed to the construction of the factory.

The 2,750-kilometre transcontinental Soyuz gas pipeline running from Orenburg to the western Soviet border has been completed. It is the longest gas pipeline in the world, with the highest capacity ever. When it comes into operation, the European CMEA countries will receive 15,500 million cubic metres of natural gas annually. The gas pipeline was built with long-term credits from fraternal countries and with the assistance of their building organisations. More than 25,000 builders from five socialist countries took part in its construction.

The truly internationalist spirit of the CMEA countries' economic cooperation is seen in the Coordinated Plan, which envisages the building of additional nickel capacity in the Republic of Cuba through the joint efforts of the fraternal countries. When all the plants of the mining complex go into operation, Cuba will produce more than 130,000 tons of nickel a year, or about a quarter of world output. Under the plan of integration measures the Mongolian People's Republic is to be given broad assistance with

a view to speeding its economic development. To help Mongolia develop its rich natural resources, an International Geological Expedition was set up to carry out comprehensive minerals prospecting. The work will be financed by CMEA countries with gift loans as well as on easy terms.

Successful implementation of the Comprehensive Programme has allowed the CMEA countries to carry out jointly still other major projects in key areas of production. At the same time, the communist and workers' parties feel that the opportunities afforded by socialist integration for accelerating economic growth and making production more efficient have yet to be used to the full. To have the advantages offered by the international socialist division of labour and international cooperation in production used to more benefit, the communist parties of the fraternal countries are working tirelessly to further improve the reciprocal economic ties and intensify the integration processes in the world socialist economy.

Long-term special-purpose programmes constitute an essentially new form of the CMEA countries' cooperation in the area of planning, which develops and supplements the already existing forms. These are integrated systems of measures—coordinated as to resources, deadlines and responsible parties—for dealing in a systematic fashion with major economic problems. Special-purpose programmes are to ensure an effective pooling of efforts by the countries concerned for tackling together long-range problems in-

volved in launching certain necessary types of production, developing extensive specialisation and co-operation, accelerating the progress of science and technology and the use of their achievements in the economy, and, in the final analysis, facilitating the solution of the key tasks set by the fraternal parties in the course of building socialism and communism.

Special-purpose programmes will contain specific measures for satisfying the CMEA countries' economically justified requirements for the main kinds of energy, fuel and raw materials and developing the engineering industry through extensive specialisation and cooperation in production, as well as measures for satisfying requirements for staple foods and consumer goods, and updating and developing transportation links between the CMEA countries. Tightly linked with the goal of further improving the people's living standards, these programmes will help speed up the building of socialism and communism and augment the socialist countries' economic might. They will also facilitate the evening out of the economic development levels of the CMEA countries, and will contain multilateral measures aimed at speeding up the economic development of the Republic of Cuba and the Mongolian People's Republic.

The implementation of special-purpose programmes will elevate cooperation itself to a new level which will promote still further the progress of each country and the fraternal community as a whole.

Coordinated, interlocked use of the industrial, scientific and technological potentials of the fraternal countries provides broader opportunities for more quickly raising the efficiency of the socialist economy. Optimally balanced and highly efficient development of production in each country is achieved as the existing economic and other conditions favourable to it are more fully used and new ones are systematically provided. The fraternal countries' mutual interest in greater international mobility of productive resources is increasing. As these countries join their efforts, more rational economic proportions take shape in each of them. The plan-regulated, growing cooperation of the labour of the peoples of the socialist countries is a potent factor in the economic development of each country and the world socialist system as a whole.

The results of the implementation of the Comprehensive Programme to date conclusively show that the correct economic strategy has been chosen. After the Programme was adopted, economic growth rates increased in all CMEA countries and their economic, scientific and technological cooperation expanded. These successes were scored because the fraternal countries jointly tackled the major economic problems involved in the building of socialism and communism. The development of cooperation and closer coordination among CMEA countries helped strengthen socialism's positions in the world economy and made it more difficult for capitalist countries and their economic blocs to discriminate against CMEA

countries. Collective, coordinated use of the results of international détente led to the expansion of economic ties between the CMEA countries and all the countries of the world.

The successful economic cooperation among CMEA countries, their stable economic growth and the socialist economies' immunity to economic and monetary crises have raised the prestige of the socialist community and its economic headquarters, the CMEA. The latter has been recognised by many international economic bodies, while a number of countries have expressed their desire to cooperate directly with the CMEA and its agencies. All these positive changes show that the Comprehensive Programme has proved to be the main avenue of development and extension of the socialist division of labour. The communist and workers' parties of the fraternal countries are steadily developing and improving everything newly born from the implementation of the Programme, jointly working out the prospects for the further development of the integrational process.

5. The Socialist Community and World Development

The development of the socialist community is closely linked with general world development. In the modern world, with its ever more dynamic social, economic and political processes, consolidation of socialism's internal and international positions is

the main direction of social progress. Socialism, with its steadily growing economic might, humanitarian ideals and foreign relations of a new type, is the main political, social and ideological factor behind all progressive changes occurring in the world. The socialist community, a reliable bulwark of the peoples fighting for national and social emancipation, is a mighty and dependable force safeguarding peace and international security.

Thanks to their unity, solidarity and mutual support, the socialist countries have succeeded in solving some major issues in the past few years. One outstanding result of their concerted efforts was the general recognition of the sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic and its admission to the United Nations. The most important results of the liberation struggle of the European peoples during and after the Second World War were formalised. The inviolability of the western frontiers of Poland and Czechoslovakia was internationally confirmed. Conditions were created for stable peace and good-neighbourly cooperation in Europe and beyond it. The efforts of US imperialism to torpedo the building of socialism in Cuba came to nothing and socialism has taken deep root on Cuban soil. In Vietnam, imperialism's biggest attempt after World War II to destroy a socialist state by armed force and crush a national liberation revolution suffered failure. As a result of Vietnam's historic victory and the reunification of the country, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has become a major factor of peace

and progress in Asia. With the triumph of the patriotic forces in Laos and the coming to power of its Marxist-Leninist vanguard, the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos, the family of socialist countries has grown even larger.

Safeguarding peace in Europe, Asia and the Middle East and curbing the arms race and attempts at imperialist aggression, the socialist countries are fighting for what mankind holds dearest—for the right to life, for deliverance from the threat of a nuclear holocaust, for the people's right to choose freely their path of development. In doing this, the fraternal socialist states actively contribute to providing favourable international conditions for promoting the social progress of all peoples in all countries. The consistent, energetic efforts of the socialist community countries for peace, international detente and disarmament, unite in a single powerful stream the interests of people throughout the world. Detente opens to the socialist countries the prospects for more consistently applying the objective laws of socialism, making broader use of all its inherent advantages and, above all, for more fully satisfying man's material, cultural and intellectual needs. International detente thwarts the imperialist reactionaries' attempts to profit by the invented "communist threat" which they peddle to befuddle the masses and spur on the arms race. Peaceful coexistence confines, as it were, the capitalist socio-economic relations to the narrow bounds of capitalism's natural laws, which give free rein to its contradictions. International detente

multiplies the national and social emancipation forces. Recent events have clearly demonstrated that in the conditions of detente it is not so easy for the imperialists to suppress national liberation movements or for the Western powers to intervene in the internal affairs of newly independent countries.

The socialist countries' peace policy was confronted for decades by an aggressive imperialist strategy which aimed, at first, to wipe out socialism organised into a state, and then, as the latter grew stronger, to 'roll back' or 'contain' socialism. During the fairly long cold war period, leading politicians and ideologists in the imperialist countries proceeded from the assumption that political tensions, the arms race and an absence of any significant economic contacts between countries with different social systems would harm the socialist countries sufficiently to prevent them from coping with their internal and international problems on their own. The chief defect of the imperialist strategy was that it had been evolved without any consideration for the leading socio-economic tendencies of world development, which wrought radical changes in the international balance of forces and in the nature and pattern of international economic and political relations.

Reality has shattered the hopes of the aggressive imperialist groups to sap socialist cooperation from within. In recent years, economic and political relations between the socialist countries have become closer and more fruitful than ever before, while the

Warsaw Treaty Organisation and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance have been functioning much more efficiently.

The growing many-sided influence exerted by the world socialist system on the processes occurring in the world today is due principally to the changed international balance of forces. It was not before they had lost their military superiority and realised that another world war, far from allowing them to accomplish their ends, would inevitably result in the destruction of capitalism, that the ruling circles of the imperialist powers began to recognise in practice the principle of peaceful coexistence.

The main direction of the present shift in the world balance of forces lies in the economic sphere. The socialist community countries are winning more and more positions in the economic competition with capitalism. Speaking of the new trends in world development originated by the victorious Great October Socialist Revolution, Lenin wrote that they would be dictated by the struggle 'between two methods, two political and economic systems—the communist and the capitalist'.¹ Lenin described the struggle between socialism and capitalism as a set of factors whereby the socialist world actively influenced the capitalist economic and political systems so as to ensure its own complete and final victory. In the

¹ V. I. Lenin, 'Speech Delivered at a Meeting of Activists of the Moscow Organisation of the P.C.P. (B), December 6, 1920', *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 456.

spirit of Lenin's analysis of the relations between the two opposite socio-economic systems the influence of socialism on capitalism should be regarded as an objective law of the socialist mode of production, a major form in which the advantages offered by the new social system are realised on a world scale.

The growing might of the socialist states, the increasing appeal of the socialist ideals, the practical building of communism and socialism, and the effective foreign policy of the socialist states provide the historical setting in which countries, classes, political parties and public movements interact.

One characteristic feature of the age is the overall growth of the Communists' influence. This growth is inseparable from the increasing might of the world socialist system, from the close alliance between the communist and workers' parties in the fraternal countries and the communist parties in the capitalist and developing countries. The world communist movement is the strongest and most influential movement of the present times. Under the Communists' influence, the main tendency of political development in the industrialised capitalist countries comes to consist in the growth of the workers' militant, class activity, the extension of their goals and demands, and the development of their struggle for their immediate interests into action against the state-monopoly system as a whole.

The Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries are always on the side of the peoples fighting for

independence and social progress, and against colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and apartheid. The firm support consistently rendered by the socialist community countries to the peoples' struggle for national liberation, and against the imperialist policy of inequality, oppression and intervention in the home affairs of young states was an important factor in changing the political map of the world.

The developing nations justly associate the policy pursued by the socialist community countries with the social and state system established there, with the nature of socialism.

In condensed form, socialism's influence on the historical destinies of mankind is typified by the socialist countries' approach to the solution of the problem of peace and war. In the socialist states, the peoples have found, for the first time in world history, a force repudiating war as a means of attaining political ends. To ensure a lasting peace is the major objective of the state policy of the socialist countries, supported by their whole might and international prestige. This approach does not deny the peoples' right to wage just wars for independence, for national and social emancipation, nor does it boil down to pacifistic appeals for peacefulness. In the policy pursued by the socialist community countries the struggle for peace is associated with the idea of social progress, with the need to shift the global opposition of the two world systems to the sphere of economic competition and political and ideological struggle, while observing the principles of peace-

ful coexistence of countries with different social systems.

Examination of the reasons that caused the capitalist countries to embark on peaceful coexistence and cooperation with the socialist countries shows that besides the growing might of the socialist system, there are factors springing from the general crisis of capitalism at its present stage. Abrupt changes in the economic situation, the energy and monetary crises, inflation, mass unemployment, further and further aggravate the conflicts of capitalist society. The scientific and technological revolution is inexorably advancing, and the internationalisation of all areas of human activity compels the capitalist countries to seek to establish contact with the socialist countries. Objective economic laws, which require broader international exchanges of commodities, expertise, and scientific information, act as a force shattering discriminatory imperialist economic barriers.

The communist and workers' parties of the fraternal socialist countries believe that the problem of international security, of establishing lasting and constructive peace in the whole world and on the European continent in particular, is not a purely political one. Therefore, it cannot be resolved merely by political means. International security depends a great deal on economic cooperation between countries with different social systems. Stable economic relations promote cooperation between countries in foreign relations and provide a sort of economic foundation for peaceful coexistence. And as

tensions relax, economic contacts between the two systems extend and intensify.

Proceeding from Lenin's analysis of the world economy and opportunities for using it in the interest of peace and socialism, the socialist community countries support the development of large-scale and lasting economic ties, free from discrimination and inequality, between countries with different social systems. Development of such ties will help to cement peaceful relations with the capitalist countries and enhance the impact of the world socialist system on the world economy. While advocating the idea of developing lasting, extensive economic relations between countries with different social systems, the socialist countries give full consideration to objective factors and trends in world development and the need to provide for their own interests which stem from the parallel existence of and interrelation between the two world systems. Practice shows that the difficulties involved in organising economic cooperation between countries with different social systems are by no means insuperable.

Not so long ago, bourgeois economists and politicians claimed that capitalist Europe could get along perfectly well without any contacts with socialist Europe, as capitalist integration presumably spared the Western economy the 'onerous' necessity of co-operating with 'non-market economies'. In reality, however, the Common Market has become the scene of conflicts and squabbles and has done nothing, in fact, to rid its members of the economic crisis, in-

flation, currency upheavals or trade rivalry. In this situation, the unacceptability of the arms race and extravagant military spending is made all the more obvious. A number of states clearly tend, relying on socialism's peace policy, to avoid being drawn into gambles. In the international arena, the major capitalist countries, too, have to reckon with the socialist community countries.

The aim of the policy conducted by the socialist community countries is to bring about a change in the world balance of forces in favour of socialism and to use it in the interests of social progress and the consolidation of universal peace. Fully in keeping with Lenin's teaching, the foreign policy pursued by these countries is founded on the principles of proletarian internationalism and peaceful coexistence. The internationalism of the fraternal countries' foreign policy is manifested in the fact that they spare no efforts to support and develop the world revolutionary process, consolidate socialism's internal and international positions, and to jointly safeguard the gains accomplished by the peoples of the socialist countries.

Peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems implies that war must be excluded from their interrelations, and all problems and disputes between them, complicated as they may be at times, must be settled by peaceful means and regulated under agreements founded on equality, mutual concessions and mutual benefit. Peaceful coexistence of socialist and capitalist states also includes as its im-

portant component equal and mutually advantageous political and economic cooperation and cooperation in the development of science and technology.

One major landmark on the road of strengthening peace was the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, of which Leonid Brezhnev had this to say at the 25th CPSU Congress: 'The results achieved are well worth the expended energy. The participants in the Conference have collectively reaffirmed the inviolability of the existing frontiers. A set of principles has been worked out for governing interstate relations conforming fully—in letter and spirit—with the requirements of peaceful coexistence. Favourable conditions have thus been created for safeguarding and consolidating peace on the entire continent.' The understandings reached at the Conference put East-West relations on the solid foundation of peaceful coexistence and determine the concrete directions and forms of cooperation in economic, scientific, technological and cultural fields.

It is in the interest of all peoples not only to outlaw war but also make it impossible by destroying its hardware under international agreements. This is the aim that the socialist community countries are consistently striving to achieve. Today this objective is more vital than ever. Mankind is tired of sitting upon mountains of arms, yet the arms race spurred

¹ *Documents and Resolutions, XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, pp. 22-23.

on by aggressive imperialist groups is becoming more intensive.¹

A positive solution to the problem of mutual reduction of armed forces in Central Europe by the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries would be a major factor in stopping the arms race. For this purpose, a conference was convened in Vienna, at which the Soviet Union made several constructive proposals. Regrettably, further progress is being obstructed by the West's trying to secure unilateral advantages.

Time has shown that the 1968 Treaty of the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which was signed by more than a hundred states, is an effective barrier to the spread of nuclear weapons. An international convention on banning and destroying bacteriological weapons, based on a draft submitted by the Soviet Union, has come into effect. It envisages the removal of a whole category of highly dangerous mass destruction weapons from national military arsenals. The Soviet Union and fraternal countries are taking steps to speed up the convocation of a World Disarmament Conference. It is expected to make a useful contribution to the settling of the urgent disarmament problems, focusing the attention of the greatest possible number of countries on them. Unfortunately the arms race cannot be stopped yet because of the capitalist countries' position, which the Maoists support. The arms race is swallowing up

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

more and more means and resources. The world is currently spending at the very least 250,000 million dollars a year on armaments. The danger of this is obvious. It is impossible to continue developing detente for any considerable length of time while the countries' military potentials increase and weapons are being improved and stockpiled.

Congresses of the fraternal parties have substantiated the objectives of the further struggle for peace, international cooperation and the peoples' freedom and independence, proceeding from the need to concentrate the efforts of peace-loving states on eliminating the remaining flashpoints of war, embodying international detente in concrete forms of mutually beneficial cooperation between states, and stamping out all vestiges of colonialism and all manifestations of inequality, diktat and exploitation in international relations. The 25th CPSU Congress put forward a proposal to conclude at the earliest possible time on the non-use of force in international relations. Implementing this proposal would make it possible to relieve the peoples of the burden of the arms race and turn to peaceful uses the colossal means now being spent on it, thus drastically reducing the war danger. This is an objective towards which the fraternal communist and workers' parties of the socialist community countries will bend every effort.

CONCLUSION

This book is a summing up of the real processes of socialist development occurring before the eyes of this generation, in which millions of men and women are taking an immediate part.

These processes are characterised above all by the achievement of developed socialism, a fact recorded in the Soviet Constitution, which states that 'developed socialist society' is a natural, logical stage on the road to communism'. At this stage socialism is developing on its own foundations and its creative forces and the deeply humanitarian nature are becoming increasingly evident. That socialism is not a brief, temporary stage has been proved in history, but neither is it endless or static. It is a dynamically progressing system which develops not only in breadth but also qualitatively, as the socio-economic laws are more thoroughly understood and applied. This feature is due to the high development of the productive forces and the improvement of production relations. The new historical stage of socialism's development is an organic continuation of the preceding stages in the progress of socialism.

It is a natural, logical stage in the socio-economic maturity of the new system during the first phase of communist society. In his article, entitled 'A Historical Stage on the Road to Communism', Leonid Brezhnev wrote: 'The experience of the USSR, of other countries of the socialist community testifies to the fact that laying the foundations of socialism, that is, abolishing the exploiting classes and establishing public ownership of the means of production in all sectors of the national economy, does not yet make it possible to launch the direct transition to communism. Before this certain stages of the development of socialism on its own basis must be traversed.'¹

Developed socialism is characterised by a combination of the advances of the scientific and technological revolution and the advantages of the socialist economic system, a drastic turn towards intensive methods of economic development and a new level and scale of production, which make it possible to deal directly with the tasks of laying the material and technical foundations of communism, ensure the steady growth of the people's living standards, and score major successes in the economic competition between socialism and capitalism.

Socialism's dynamic development is a series of interdependent transitions from lower to higher qualitative states. The entire historical process, including the current stage of maturity, can be grasped

¹ *World Marxist Review*, Vol. 20, No. 12, 1977, pp. 3-4.

only provided socio-economic life is regarded as a dynamic process, taking into account the prospects for social progress.

Developed socialism is characterised by a high degree of maturity of the whole system of social relations. Socialisation of the economy reaches a much higher level, and state (belonging to the whole of the people) and cooperative forms of socialist property steadily draw closer together.

At the stage of developed socialism, the potentialities of the first phase of the communist formation manifest themselves most completely.

At the stage of socialism's maturity, its own socialist material and technical foundations and the type of worker that corresponds to them are the necessary conditions for the fullest possible manifestation and utilisation of all the economic laws of socialism.

In examining these features, the authors set out to show that the fact of the material conditions of socialism being adequate to the system of socio-economic relations does not mean in the least that all non-antagonistic contradictions and difficult problems of social development disappear. Engels wrote: '... if all contradictions are once for all disposed of ... world history will be at an end'.¹

As socialist society advances, becoming ever more

¹ F. Engels, 'Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy', in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, in three volumes, Vol. 3, p. 342.

mature, old contradictions are surmounted and new ones emerge, which fill the application of the economic laws of socialism with a new content, without cancelling the socialist nature of the new phenomena of socialist reality or the essence of its economic laws.

The new social phenomena, which spell far-reaching, qualitative socio-economic changes in the socialist basis and the system of the political superstructure and in the totality of the material, cultural and intellectual conditions of social life, have provided living material for a new advance in the social understanding of reality by the CPSU and the fraternal parties of the socialist countries, and for evolving a new social category—developed socialist society.

The conclusion drawn by the CPSU and the fraternal parties as a result of theoretical analysis and cognition of the new stage in the historical development of socialism corresponds to the precepts of the founders of Marxism-Leninism on this point. 'In acquiring new productive forces,' Marx wrote, 'men change their mode of production; and in changing their mode of production, in changing the way of earning their living, they change all their social relations.'¹ And further: 'The same men who establish their social relations in conformity with their material productivity, produce also principles, ideas

¹ K. Marx, 'The Poverty of Philosophy' in: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, Moscow, 1976, p. 166.

and categories, in conformity with their social relations.'²

The CPSU and the fraternal communist and workers' parties loyal to Marxism-Leninism, translating into life the ideas of scientific communism, have carried out their plans for building socialism, and, on the strength of the ample international experience of the world socialist system, of the socialist community, evolved through scientific analysis a new form of social motion, which combines a socialist maturity of labour and human relations, on the one hand, and communist principles, on the other.

It is rigorous scientific analysis of the real processes of socialist development in the various countries which have built its foundations that has made it possible not only to elucidate the specific features of this development in individual countries, but also to disclose the general laws of building socialism, which provide for realising, under concrete conditions, the advantages offered by socialism to the extent that the peoples of the socialist countries and their vanguards succeed in applying the economic and general laws of socialism.

Contemporary Marxist-Leninist science includes the stage of developed socialism in the totality of the general laws of building socialism, having proved through its analysis of the development of production relations and material, political, cultural, intellectual, and ideological processes under socialism

² *Ibid.*

which has been built in the main that this stage is not a national phenomenon, but the element of recurrence and regularity in social phenomena occurring in different socialist countries which comprises a social category amounting by its character to a general law.

Thus, 'developed socialist society' is not merely a new—and moreover ideological—term, as is alleged by bourgeois propagandists with their itch for catchwords, but a social category which has a sociological, an economic, an ideological, and other aspects as well.

Its criteria—and hence, the criteria of the gradual coming to maturity of the socialist system at different stages of its development—manifest themselves in the content and level of maturity of the relations of production and their correspondence to the productive forces. Together, these criteria determine the extent to which the essence, and consequently the goals, of socialism are materialised, and its economic laws and natural features manifested. The maturity of socio-economic relations and their reflection of the whole system of the economic laws of socialism, which ensure a comprehensive solution of both economic and social problems, are the basic, the most general criterion of developed socialist society.

* * *

The evidence provided by contemporary reality and the processes that have already taken shape make it possible to grasp in theory the most distant

vistas of socialist development progress to communism. These processes are, and will continue to be, much more regular in occurrence and complex in essence than was assumed at one time or another not very long ago.

With every step, socialist society in individual socialist community countries and in the socialist community at large shows, on the strength of the actual practice of socialist relations, that the dynamic development of socialism, which is its social law, is an ascending movement involving struggle against the forces of the old society, which is needed by the working people not only to improve their living and working conditions, their socio-economic relations and their social system, but also so that they can 'heal themselves, too'. It is a continuous process containing elements of qualitative changes, which gradually develop into a new state characteristic of the new historical stage of social development.

The historical outcome of production is man entering into social relations. As was shown in this book, a new type of man and worker, an active and conscious maker of social relations, is the major advantage of socialism, which makes for the realism of the socialist economic system, peace, and a new balance of forces in the world.

The socialist world has shown how to lessen the dependence of men's interests and conduct on the influence of things, inculcating a truly proletarian psychology which raises men above the world of things and rids them of the blighting influence of

petty individualistic ambitions and base passions as hangovers from the old world, as vestiges of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology.

With the moulding of the new man, new social relationships will arise, especially relations of production, which will naturally become more complex as the division of labour extends and integration processes advance both within a given social production and between countries.

Man's struggle with the forces of nature, adapting them to the needs of society, occupies an ever more prominent place in the system of social ties and relationships, which are concentrated on realising general laws of socialism. This aim is attained as a result of the development of man as the main productive force, and of man's expanding knowledge and rising ability to master nature and the latest advances of science and technology, his greater awareness of the social worth of his labour and his role in society.

Socialist development in socialist community countries is marked by a growing socialisation of production accompanied by a change in the character of production relations, viz., exchange of the results of labour within newly formed production (and scientific) amalgamations does not need to be expressed in terms of commodity as conditions are established for keeping account of labour in concrete terms in accordance with economically valid standards, i.e., in collation with them. There is a movement of use values within production amalgama-

tions in accordance with the plan of production which expresses definite economic relations. This aspect of production relations is indicative of the nature of the future communist relations which have no commodity form but are of an *economic* nature, for the relations of production, whatever the shape they may assume, are economic relations. Appropriation of the means of production and products of labour as a social relation will not disappear; it advances together with production, and only its forms change. And just as appropriation, having historical forms, changes, so do all aspects of the relations of production, while retaining their economic nature. The essence of economic relations, while acquiring different historically determined forms, will be preserved and will express relations connected with the production, distribution and consumption of material goods. Consequently, with the disappearance of commodity-money relations at the higher stage of communism, economic relations in general will not end.

Economic relations will also be preserved when exchange of equivalents as an expression of commodity-money relations has disappeared.

It is of utmost importance to the further development of socialist social relations and socialist production, and to the development of socialist ownership of the means of production into communist ownership, to perfect production itself, as a process of perfecting relations of property.

Socialist society's requirement for raising labour

productivity implies a change in the mode of production—in technology, organisation, implements and objects of labour; a change in cooperation; a reduction in the expenditures of live labour; a change in the type of enterprise and worker, which must ultimately result in a change in the conditions of production, in the drawing together and gradual fusion of the two forms of property (state and cooperative), and in the development of socialist relations of production into communist ones.

Socialist production embodies the unity of labour and its objective conditions. This makes it similar to communist production. But, for a variety of objective reasons, it has not removed exchange values and their exchange. This is what makes it different from communist production. When the objective conditions leading to the disappearance of such exchanges accumulate socialist production will develop into a purely communist mode of production.

Having united labour and property, socialist production turned the process of labour into the material prerequisite of the whole system of production relations, thereby taking the first step on the road to abolishing the isolation of individual producers and the exchange of values.

In their turn, the relations of communist ownership of the means of production will be a prerequisite and the objective conditions of directly social labour, which makes the exchange of values unnecessary.

These conditions, in Marx's definition, 'are also products of labour, of *world-historic* (our italics—Ed.) labour; of the labour of a social community—of its historical development, which does not ensue from the labour of individuals or the exchange of their labour.'¹

Developed socialist society shapes the conditions for a gradual change in the character of labour, the further extension of the division of social labour and its development into communist labour. These conditions are created in the process of labour itself, of 'its historical development', which occurs on a socialist material basis, in whose structure elements of the material and technical basis of communism emerge. They rise, grow and develop in the structure of the same productive forces that served to establish developed socialist society, to help its production relations mature. Following the definition formulated by Marx, we arrive at the conclusion that there are in the structure of the material conditions of mature socialism, of its social labour, elements of the 'world-historic labour' which comprises the more general properties of labour as a material prerequisite of the economic process, properties which manifest themselves more and more as the unjust division of labour is abolished and the antithesis and then the essential differences between mental and physical work are eliminated.

¹ Karl Marx, *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie*, S. 414.

Thus elements of relations and of social production characteristic of the higher stage of communist society mature gradually in the course of the development of socialist society, of the whole system of economic relations at the stage of their maturity. This determines the historical place of socialism, of its current stage, the developed socialist society, as a natural result of historical development.

* * *

In conclusion, we shall set out the system of major advantages offered by socialism both in the economic sphere and in socio-political, ideological, cultural and intellectual life as a whole.

The key advantage of socialism objectively lies in the fact that the economic basis of socialism makes it possible for economic laws to be applied in the interest of society as a whole. Owing to this, in socialist society the relations of production more closely correspond to the character of the productive forces.

Socialism is marked by a higher degree of socialisation of production based on public ownership. The advantage ensuing from this lies in the changed relation between the worker and the means of production, and harmonisation of the economic interests of society, the group, and the individual.

The supreme goal of socialist production is the satisfaction of the growing material wants of man

and the whole of society. In this lies the immense superiority of socialism over capitalism, whose aim is to secure the highest possible profit through intensifying the exploitation of man by man.

With the abolition of private property and the exploitation of the majority by a minority, parasitic consumption was ended, and the socialist principle of distribution ('From each according to his ability, to each according to his work') was firmly established.

The socialist system of management rules out economic crises and anarchy in production, and provides for a balanced development of the economy on a national scale, which makes it possible to develop industries as a complex and concentrate the resources of the socialist society on carrying out major national programmes.

Another advantage offered by socialism lies in the opportunities for applying to the fullest possible extent the latest advances of science and technology in the interest of the whole of society, given the unfolding of men's creative abilities. Thus, socialism creates conditions above all for the development of man as the prime productive force.

An advantage of socialism is the development of socialist emulation, which is in every respect superior to capitalist competition produced by the antagonistic contradictions of capitalism trampling human dignity underfoot in the name of profit.

Realisation of the economic advantages of socialism makes for stable economic growth as well as higher

efficiency and better performance on the part of all members of society.

From the totality of socialist economic relations and socialism's advantages there issue historically new yardsticks of the efficiency of social production, which express the economy of social labour in the interest of society as a whole, and the provision of favourable conditions for the all-round development of the individual, rational utilisation of natural resources, especially power resources, and nature conservation.

One great advantage offered by socialism lies in a new type of international economic relations, in the development of socialist economic integration within the CMEA framework.

Speaking of the advantages of socialism, it should be taken into account that its progressive character as a social system is manifested not only in the rate at which its productive forces grow or the share of material benefits afforded by society to man, but also in the methods by which his wants are satisfied, the prospects for the development of his perception of values, and in the further prospects for the all-round development of the individual.

Having changed the connection between the worker and the means of production socialism has strengthened man's confidence in the morrow, in his future. These are the factors in the light of which the *advantages of socialism in the social and political fields* are appraised.

Socialism's major political and social advantage

is the passing of power into the hands of the working class and the working people, the existence of a historically new socialist state system. At the stage of mature socialism, essential changes occur in the entire political system of society as the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat develops into a socialist state of the whole people.

The socialist system is founded on a new type of socio-economic relations, which have acquired a new type of exponent, and on new principles of socialist morality, above all the principle of 'one for all, and all for one', which has taken root in the system of socialist social relations in contrast to the capitalist principle that *homo homini lupus est*.

The socialist system rests on a broad social foundation, which is embodied in the alliance of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia.

Marx's prediction that labour will be the sole lord and master of the activity of individuals who have achieved freedom, combined at the same time with the individual's responsibility to society, has become firmly rooted in socialist reality.

The superiority of socialism consists in the changed character and content of labour, free from exploitation, in the enhanced creative nature of social labour, and in the elimination of the defects of the former inequality in the division of labour, which limited the development of man's creative abilities.

The socialist character of consumption has produced new, socialist forms of distribution of the aggregate social product, such as the formation of

social consumption funds and their distribution irrespective of the amount and quality of work done by an individual, which contain, to a certain extent, elements of the communist methods of distribution. As labour productivity increases, the aggregate social product and national income grow, and a larger share of consumption accrues to each member of socialist society. The socialist law of population is given greater scope. There are more material facilities for ensuring good working and leisure conditions, building up health services and developing the system of educational establishments moulding the coming generations of builders of communist society.

It is an advantage of socialism that class antagonisms have been stamped out in socialist society, the class structure has changed and further social homogeneity has been achieved, the alliance of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia led by the working class and its Communist Party has been strengthened further, the classes are drawing together more and more, and class differences are being gradually obliterated.

One major social achievement of socialism is that it has abolished the antithesis between mental and physical work and between town and country and provided the conditions similar for townspeople and villagers.

Citizens of socialist countries are guaranteed the right to work and leisure, health protection, maintenance in old age, in sickness and in the event of complete or partial disability or loss of the bread-

winner, the right to housing, education and enjoyment of cultural benefits.

An advantage of socialism consists in its having solved the nationality question by strengthening the peoples' friendship, educating the masses in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism and forming a new, socialist community of people.

Features of the conduct, character and world outlook of members of socialist society, shared by all social groups in a given country and independent of any social or national differences, gradually acquire decisive significance in socialist countries when their social relations reach a certain level of maturity.

Further advantages of socialism are: the moral and political unity of the people, the changed status of women, their absolute equality in the system of socio-economic relations, opportunities for the all-round development of young people.

A universal advantage of the socialist political system is the further consolidation of democracy in the social system, and the increased activity of public organisations expressing the will of the workers and all working people rallied round the communist and workers' parties as the vanguard of the working class and all labouring sections of socialist society, and shaping their policy on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory and proletarian ideology.

It is under socialism that the true meaning of democracy as the people's rule has been disclosed.

Only under socialism have the masses achieved actual civil and political equality and democratic principles been extended to all areas of social life, including production relations. Socialist democracy, just like the system itself, is continually developing and improving, consistent with the general criterion formulated by Lenin, that under socialism, 'for the first time in the history of civilised society the mass of the population will rise to taking an independent part, not only in voting and elections, but also in the everyday administration of the state'.¹ As its social relations reach maturity, socialist society gradually makes active participation of the masses in government central to political development.

As we see, the idea of the social advantages offered by socialism should not be limited to superficial comparisons of the number of things—e.g., cars or whatever—made available to one group of the population or another, but comprises the totality of circumstances in which man finds himself in society, includes the extent to which provision has been made for the all-round development of his abilities and their application in the interests of the individual himself and the whole of society, which creates these conditions for him, predetermining his future career, the meaning of his life, the character of his activities, the future of his family, of his children, and of social progress at large. There is no measuring the

¹ V. I. Lenin, 'The State and Revolution', *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 487-88.

values of social development, the indicators of social progress in sophisticated computers or ultra-modern cars or articles of luxury, which a society divided by private property affords to the class of property owners who sway the destinies of the oppressed millions.

And the more the apologists of capitalism shout about freedom in capitalist society, the more grossly human rights are violated, the more naked violence becomes, and the more acute are the economic, social, political, ideological, cultural and intellectual contradictions which are shaking the foundations of capitalist society, and the more acute the class antagonisms and the struggle between the ruling groups, political parties and social groups which have seized control of the political institutions of the capitalist political structure.

In order to distract the attention of broad sections of the world community from the iniquities of the contemporary capitalist system, its apologists increasingly plunge into anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, resorting to slander and distortion of socialist principles and the facts of socialist reality, and playing up difficulties and outstanding problems, seeking in this way to weaken the force of attraction of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, of real socialist development.

In view of all that has been said, let us sum up the basic advantages offered by socialism in the cultural, intellectual and ideological fields.

A major advantage of socialist society, in which

working-class ideology and Marxist-Leninist philosophy are predominant, is that the masses are drawn into active cultural and intellectual creative work. Socialism endows culture, which, developing, embodies the best spiritual values produced by mankind, with a deeply popular character. It imbibes the variety and wealth of society's cultural and intellectual life, being based on high ideological commitment and proletarian humanism.

The expression of the principles of collectivism and cooperation in the human relations, and a higher level of general education and know-how constitute another advantage of socialism. Universal education is a great gain of socialism, which makes it possible to shape harmoniously developed citizens of socialist countries.

Another advantage of socialism lies in the lofty moral outlook of the citizens of socialist society, which shapes a socialist way of life.

'Communism is a question of humanity and not of the workers alone.'¹ Hence, the advantages of socialism, whether in the economic, social and political fields or in the ideological, cultural and intellectual sphere, are of an *international character*.

¹ Frederick Engels, 'The Condition of the Working-Class in England', in: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, Moscow, 1975, p. 582.



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